# HISTORY

OFTHE

LIVES

OF

## ABEILLARD and HELOISA;

COMPRISING A PERIOD OF EIGHTY - FOUR YEARS,

From 1079 to 1163.

WITH THEIR GENUINE

LETTERS,

FROM THE COLLECTION OF AMBOISE.

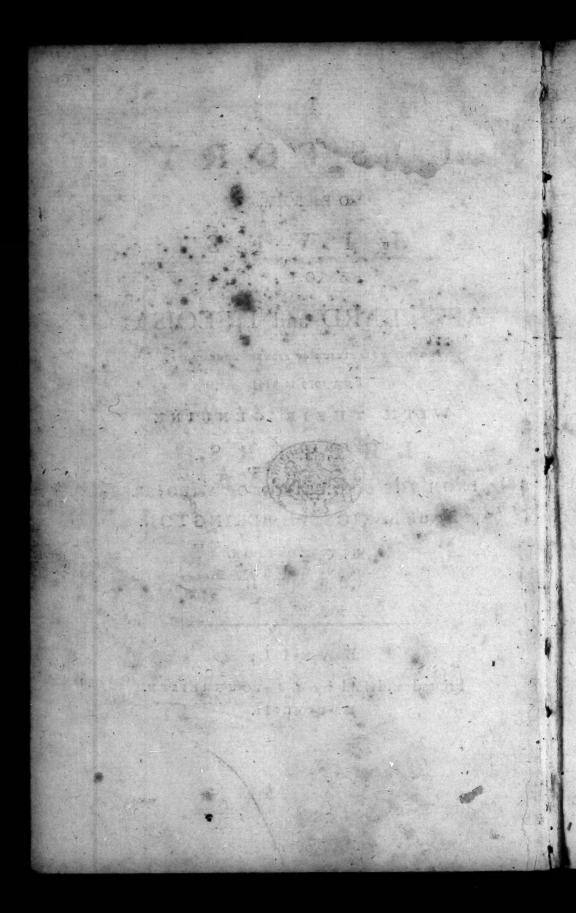
By the Rev. JOSEPH BERINGTON.

NEW EDITION.

VOLUME II.

BASIL:

Printed and fold by J. J. TOURNEISEN.
MDCCXCIII.



## CONTENTS

OFTHE

## SECOND VOLUME.

#### BOOK V.

He writes the story of his own life — State of the Paraclet — Abeillard's memoirs fall into the hands of Heloisa — She writes her first letter — Abeillard's answer — Heloisa's second letter — Abeillard's reply — Mr. Pope's Heloisa — Heloisa's third letter — Abeillard's answer — Other works of Abeillard — St. Bernard visits the Paraclet.

PAGE 1 — 76

### BOOK VI.

William of St. Thierry accuses Abeillard—The abbot of Clairvaux engages in the quarrel—The council of Sens—Sentence against Abeillard—He sets out for Rome—Is entertained at Cluni, and consents to remain there—Arnold of Brescia—Tanchelm of Antwerp—Henry de Bruys.

PAGE 77—136

### BOOK VIL

Abeillard writes two apologies—His life at Cluni—
He falls fick—And dies at St. Marcellus—His
character—The abbot of Cluni writes an account
of his death to Heloifa—She requests his body,
and obtains it—Writes to Peter the venerable—
His answer—Innocent II.—Eugenius III.—
Adrian IV.—State of England—State of France—
The second crusade—Death and character of
Suger— of Bernard—of Peter the venerable—
Heloifa—Her death.

PAGE 137—232

The Letters of Abeillard and Heloifa. PAGE 233 - 368

# HISTORY

### OF THE LIVES OF

## ABEILLARD and HELOISA,

### BOOK V.

Abeillard writes the story of his own life—State of the Paraclet—Abeillard's memoirs fall into the hands of Heloisa—She writes her first letter—Abeillard's answer—Heloisa's second letter—Abeillard's reply—Mr. Pope's Heloisa.—Heloisa's third letter—Abeillard's answer—Other works of Abeillard—St. Bernard visits the Paraclet.

### Anno, 1134.

IT is some alleviation to the sufferer, when he knows that he is not alone in misery.—Forlorn, as v.

I described it, was the condition of Abeillard at Abeillard St. Gildas, nor did he see any end to his sufferings. The sum of this form form fludy, but more own life. from religion, with difficulty he wore away the heavy hours. Thus pensive and sad he was, deeming himself the most wretched of men, when Vol. II.

whom he had left behind him in the neighbourhood of the Paraclet. This friend, whose name
or condition is not recorded, had long lived
in habits of great intimacy with Abeillard.

Perhaps he was the man who accompanied him,
as has been related, into the desert, and who
was his companion, when together they began
to cultivate that inhospitable spot. Some great
missortune had befallen him, and he was deep in
distress, when, to beg advice and comfort, he
wrote to Abeillard.

The abbot read the letter, and he lamented the hard fate of his friend. But, as I have just observed, there was still some comfort in the reflection, that he had now a partner in affliction. To remove the load, as well as he was able, from his friend's shoulders, he was most willing; and he would pour balm into his wounds, if he could. They can feel most for others, who themselves have suffered most. He considered by what method he could best administer consolation; but when again he reviewed his friend's narration, and the recollection of his own calamities had due time to operate, the tale, that at first affected him, vanished into air, and he saw nothing round him but the dark cloud of his own missortunes. What then,

Hift. Calam.

he thought, could fo efficaciously answer his BOOK friend's request, as minutely to detail the events of a life, which was but a chequered scene of mifery? With it he would compare his own, and from the comparison derive the happiness he wanted -He had also, in this undertaking, a more selfish object in view: it was to enjoy pleasure, which the unfortunate feel in relating their own ftory; and when accumulated before him he should behold the whole tissue of past events, possibly present evils might appear more supportable. What the particular distresses of his friend were, he does not fay: intent on himself, he shut his eyes on all the world besides. I have before had occasion to remark that, selfishness was a very leading trait in the character of Abeillard.

He compiled therefore the memoirs of his own life.—It is unnecessary I should say much on this celebrated tract: the preceding history is faithfully extracted from it, which shows what are its contents. The work is not ill-written, though it possesses few marks of genius, and less of elegance. The age indeed was barbarous; nor can it be, in such circumstances, that the most splendid talents will ever rise above a certain level. Were the thing possible, what subject was ever better formed to call abilities into action? Not a single event does he relate, of which he is not himself the hero. Yet he is sometimes uninteresting, and

BOOK V. often tedious, entering on discussions which have little weight, and refuming arguments which are not of a nature to convince. His portraits are generally caricatured, and his representations of events are evidently overcharged. This we may pardon in a man, who fo often had fuffered unjuftly.-I am furprifed that his language is not more pure. He quotes the best Roman writers: he had read Cicero; Seneca is his favorite; and with Virgil, Ovid, and Lucan, he feems to have been familiar. Among the fathers of the church, Jerom, who has been styled the christian Tully, was his admired author: him he had perused with avidity, because, besides his language which charmed him, he discovered in his life many events, which resembled his own, and from his character and deportment he could draw fome lessons of comfort.—But with all their imperfections, these memoirs of Abeillard are valuable, and they are read with pleasure.-Having completed the work, he fent it to his friend.

State of the Paraclet. Since Abeillard had taken his last leave of the Paraclet, which was about four or five years, it had greatly prospered. The number of religious was much increased, and wealth had increased with their numbers. The same of Heloisa was widely spread; and many ladies of distinction petitioned for admittance into her convent; the

fortunes they carried with them were confider- BOOK able. To fecure their extensive property, and to procure fuch privileges, as were deemed most expedient, Heloifa applied to Rome. The fame Innocent, whom I have already mentioned, was then pope. He graciously acceded to the petition, and addressed to them a bull, wherein, after having taken the monastery of the Paraclet under the protection of the apostolic see, he declares that all their poffessions, as well such as they then occupied, as what might hereafter, by lawful means, fall into their hands, should remain to them, fecure and unimpaired, for ever. Should any one dare to infringe this folemn decree, he denounces against him the severest censures .- By another brief, the same pontiff forbids the bishop or any person whatever, to molest the nuns in the free choice of their abbefs, or to interfere in any of their concerns; he ordains moreover, that, on no occasion, they should be obliged to quit their convent, not even when their abbess was to be bleffed, but that the ceremony should be performed within their own walls .- A good prieft, named Gundricus, about the fame time, gave to the Paraclet an estate, to which he had succeeded; and this grant also was confirmed to them by the Roman pontiff.

Vie d'Abeil. vol. ii. p. 20. Abeil. Op. p. 346. Ibidi

V.

BOOK Thus did fortune shower down her gifts on the Paraclet: but Heloisa was the favorite child that attracted her partial notice. The lovely abbess had indeed reason to be satisfied with her situation. Every day, fresh success seemed to attend her endeavours: fhe was prosperous without doors, and within the walls of her convent, harmony, happiness, piety, and religious discipline, uniting in facred concord, diffused joy over every countenance, and peace into every cell. Agnes, the niece of the abbot of St. Gildas, was her prioress, and in her she reposed the principal administration of their internal economy'. Thus she was more at liberty to pursue her favorite occupations of study and fequeftered meditation. The management of their temporal affairs was in the hands of proper agents. - The prompt acquiescence which Rome showed to her petitions, demonstrated the high opinion entertained of her merit, and the circumstance doubtless was flattering to herself.

So admired, fo honored, fo beloved, if Heloifa was not happy, we must look for the cause in fome untowardness of disposition, or rather in a natural reluctance, which her mind feemed to bear towards the confinement of a cloiftered life. But this is conjectural: we have no reason to say that The was not happy. Abeillard, indeed, had deferted

Vie d'Abeil. p. 20.

the Paraclet; but the illnatured reflections of the BOOK world had compelled him to it: her good fenfe therefore told her that it was her duty to fubmit. If fince that time, all correspondence had ceased between them, she could ascribe it still to a certain delicacy of character. Placed as he was at the head of an undisciplined monastery, good example, she knew, was effentially necessary in the fuperior. The time might come, when again she and her fifters would enjoy the happiness of his fociety and of his learned conversation. In this view she rested.

dressed to his friend, had been received. It was into the natural he should admire it, and should read it to hands of others. Copies of it were taken, and the original itself circulated from hand to hand. It was at last taken to the Paraclet . The connexion betwixt that house and Abeillard was well known, and it was an obvious thought, that the abbess, in particular, might like to read a flory, wherein she had borne some part, and the whole of which, besides being an ingenious performance, contained the history of the life of Abeillard. - Heloisa took the letter from the hand of him who brought it.

The fuperscription at once told her by whom it was written, and she opened it with eagerness. With the same eagerness her eye ran over the

The letter of confolation, which Abeillard ad- Abeillard's

Ep. Helois. 1a.

to her cell.

V. her heart was interested in the story. It was the circumstantial detail of his life and adventures, and of their joint loves and joint missortunes. At every line she pitied him; this was a sentiment she might lawfully indulge; and as she pitied him, again she began to love. — At no time, it appears, can the ruling pission be so far subdued, as not to be immediately re-excited, when causes are applied with which its action has been strongly united. — Having read the letter, she gave it back to her officious friend, and retired in confusion

We well know, for they have been faithfully brought down to us, what were the thoughts which now rushed into the breast of Heloisa. The closing passages of his letter, wherein he related what he had suffered from his monks, and how great the danger still was, to which he was hourly exposed, dwelt heaviest on her mind. A thousand times she wished it were in her power to succour him; and she formed a thousand plans, as impracticable as they were wild. Abeillard was in Britany, and she, a cloistered nun, was immured at the Paraclet! To providence she could only look, and on her knees, she prayed, that heaven would protect him. How truly miserable had his life

Ep. Helois. 1e.

been, and yet what mortal was ever more entitled BOOR to the fmiles of fortune ! - Her recollection now returned upon the events, in which she was perfonally concerned. He had told them, indeed; but was it not with some indifference? The narration of his own immediate troubles was prolix and circumstantial; here he was brief and rapid. Yet how much had she not loved him; and what sacrifices had she not made to please him! Did all this merit no return? - This letter itself was a proof, how small was the space she occupied in his heart. A man, whom he hardly knew, requested his advice, and he had given it in a manner that was almost new and unprecedented: he had poured into his bosom all the public, and many of the private, circumstances of his life. To her, for five long years, he had not written a fingle line! Was fhe even fure fhe was not erased from his memory?\_\_ The penfive abbess indulged the sad reflection, and feemed ready to fink under it.

The pious fifterhood foon noticed that their abbess was more fad than usual: her countenance grew wan; and she never left her cell, unless when the duties of her station compelled her to it. They were anxious to know the cause of the sudden change, and, with a pleafing confidence, they asked it of her. Heloisa told them of the letter she had read, and of the forlorn condition, in which Abeillard, their common friend and benefactor,

v. then was. They heard the news with trepidation, and in all, but love, sympathized with the feelings of their abbes. What step could be taken to relieve their anxious bosoms, they knew not; but unanimously they requested that something might be done.

This folicitude of her fifters was very pleafing to the mind of Heloifa. Again she revolved the distressful train of her reflections; and soon it occurred to her, that there was one expedient in her power, which possibly might answer her most fanguine defires. She would write to the abbot of St. Gildas, praying that, without delay, he would inform her of his fituation; and, at the fame time, she would disburden her mind of some other thoughts, the impression of which was very painful. - But this scheme, from a word she lets fall in her letter, she seems not to have executed immediately. Bufiness perhaps hindered her; or it might be the tumult of her own mind, which, with difficulty, could be reduced to order. - The letter was, at length, completed, and she dispatched it into Britany.

She writes her first letter. There is some affectation in the address of this letter: she styles Abeillard, her master, her father, her husband, her brother; and herself his handmaid, his daughter, his wife, his sister. The language of real passion is seldom so precise. —She

<sup>\*</sup> Ep. Helois. 12,

then tells him, that accidentally she had seen the BOOK? letter, he had written to his friend, and with what ardor she had read it : she wanted comfort, 'and looked for it from his words; but how miferably had she been disappointed! -She recapitulates the fubftance of his ftory, and remarks how admirably he had fulfilled the promife made to his friend: but on the hearts of his daughters of the Paraclet eruel was the effect, this too faithful tale had made !-She begs him, for Christ's fake, to inform them, and that repeatedly, of each circumstance of his present dangers. " I and my fisters, continues she, " are the fole remains of all your friends: let us. " at least, partake of your joys and forrows. The " condolence of others is used to bring some relief " to the fufferer, and a load, laid on many " shoulders, is more easily supported." - She defcants on the foft intercourse and pleasing effects of letters; a method by which he may always be present with them, and of which, if Abeillard only be willing, no invidious passion or impediment, can ever bereave them.

She reminds him by what ties he is bound to the Paraclet: it was he only who had erected its oratory, and he had established its congregation: but can the young plant prosper, if it be not often watered with peculiar care? "We are women, " Sir, fays she, by nature weak and delicate. Thus " had our fociety been long formed, it would still

BOOK V. " be exposed to danger. But now, if you give us "not all your attention and all your care, how "shall we brave the storm?"—She tells him of the labor he throws away on the ungrateful vineyard of St. Gildas; that his admonitions are all in vain; and that the treasures which he squanders on his enemies, should rather be kept for those, who are docile and obedient. "But I will say "nothing of others, continues she: think only how much you owe to me. Whatever obligations bind you to the devout part of my sex, are all "concentred in your Heloisa."

Now she enters on her own immediate interests, and in a manner the most forcible and affecting, expostulates with the ungrateful and felfish man. -She speaks of his neglectful usage, when, at his command, she first left the world. "Not even " then, fays she, when long grief had worn me " down, did you come to fee me, or even fend " me one line of comfort." - She recals to his mind the excess of her love for him; she speaks of the loss the suffered when the lost him; the describes the facrifice she made of herself and of all her dispositions to his will, and the disinterestedness with which she made it. In a flight of romantic passion she recurs to the ideas, which wildly filled her breaft, when in the name of mistress she could discover so many charms, and when she would

have deemed it more eligible to be that to BOOK Abeillard, than to be the wife of Cæfar. "For V."
" the more I humbled myself before you, says

" she, the greater right I thought I should have to "your favor; and thus also I hoped the less to

" injure the great reputation you had acquired." These things she recapitulates to show him, what pretensions she now has to expect some return.

She then reviews, with much complacency, the fplendid endowments and the endearing character of Abeillard, which had so justly engaged her love. She recounts the general admiration which followed him, the envy with which her own happiness was contemplated, and the melancholy reverse of fortune which soon ensued. That she was the occasion of his misfortunes, she owns, but yet that she was not guilty: because it is the motive from which we act, and not the event of things, which makes us criminal: equity weighs the intention. "What, at all times, were my dispositions in your regard, she says, you who knew them can only judge. To you I refer all my actions, and on

"your decision I rest my cause."

Again she turns to his neglectful treatment of her, during the many years she resided at Argenteuil, and she entreats him, if he can, to account for it; or else that she must herself say, what her own

fuspicions are. These suspicions she then declares,

v. not blind to the failings of Abeillard. "But "how much is it my wish, proceeds Heloisa, that "your own self-love could devise some excuse, "which might ease my pain! Were I able, even "I would willingly invent some pretext, which, "to extenuate your fault, might seem to lessen the

" pretensions I have to your notice."

Drawing to a conclusion, again she proposes her petition, that he would write to her; a petition, she trusts, which he will not find extravagant or difficult of execution. But if he prove so niggardly in words, what reason has she to think he will be more liberal in things of consequence? Even at this moment, she urges, she is a victim to his will; his will it was, and not religion, which called her to the cloister. If then she ceases to have merit in his eyes; vain indeed is all her labor! From God she can look for no reward, for whose sake hitherto, she consesses, she has done nothing.

She upbraids him with the circumstance of his having insisted that she should put on the veil, before he would surrender his liberty: and in that instance, she says, his mistrust of her tore her heart, and that she blushed for him. Could he have reason to mistrust her, when he knew that, at a single word, she would have accompanied him to the gates of eternal misery? "Were you less fure of my love, continues she, you would be

" more folicitous: but because my conduct has BOOK rendered you secure, you neglect me. Once v.

" more recollect what I have done for you, and

" how great is the debt you owe me."

There was a time, fhe acknowledges, when the motive of her attachment might have appeared uncertain to others: it might have been the love of pleafure, or the indulgence of vanity. It could now be mistaken no longer; for in obedience to him, she had facrificed all her inclinations, and had referved nothing, the hope only excepted, that by fo doing she should become more perfectly his. - Then thus she concludes. - "By that God, to " whom your life is confecrated, I conjure you " give me so much of yourself as is at your disposal, " that is, fend me fome lines of confolation. Do " it with this defign at leaft, hat my mind being " more at eafe, I may ferve God with more alacrity. "When formerly the love of pleasure was your " pursuit, often did I hear from you. In your " fongs the name of Heloifa was made familiar to " every tongue: it was heard in every fireet: the " walls of every house repeated it. With how " much more propriety might you now call me to " God, than you did then to scenes of dislipation?" "Weigh your obligations, and attend to my " request. A few words shall close this long " epiftle. - My only friend, farewel!"

The critic, the moralist, and the man of sentiment, will find much to admire in this charming letter: but it is the original they must read, and to that I refer them. - In it the philosophic abbels displays great knowledge of the human heart; she aims not to disguise her own weaknesses, and the imperfections of Abeillard, whilft fhe extols his virtues and blazons his endowments, she holds up before him in colors full of truth and expression, Seldom has fuch love as her's been fo free-fpoken and impartial. That his too apparent ingratitude and neglect of her should have roused her resentment, was natural; but in terms how gentle does the utter her reproaches, and how mild is the edge of her sharpest reproofs! She seems not to have written a line, which the indulgence of affection had not first retouched and fitted to its place. It may feem that she rates her own merits very highly: but they only can think it, who have not weighed her conduct: in the mind of Abeillard, at leaft, there could be no measure found by which to appreciate their just value. There they should have risen, in proportion to his own ingratitude, which, I fear, was incommensurable. Her request was of all things the most moderate; and when she considered with what promptness he had entered into a minute detail of his life, to fatisfy the wishes of a man,

he called his friend, was it much to defire a few

lines

lines only, and these were to regard himself? But BOOK it seems, she suspected that even this request would hardly be complied with.

The moral tendency of some passages may be controverted. But there will foon be a better occasion of discussing this difficulty. Suffice it now to fay, that she is writing in confidence to her husband and her friend; and therefore, without referve, she lays her thoughts before him. In her instructions to the nuns of the Paraclet, very different, I suspect, would have been her language. But on no occasion does she pretend to justify the unbounded strength of passion, she once felt for Abeillard; she rather treats it as a weakness; at all events she only expresses its reality as a fact, which from him was entitled to call for fome return. - In great diffidence the acknowledges how much she wants assistance and advice; humbly she confesses her unworthiness before God, for whose sake she had done nothing: and she looks to peace of mind, as the only state, in which the duties of her calling could be properly observed.

The language and composition of this letter are both admirable. There is sometimes a purity, a precision, a perspicuity, a conciseness, a nerve in her expressions, which, even in the best days of Roman latinity, would have been read with pleasure. Where she falls from classic elegance, BOOK V.

it is the subject, or the barbarous idiom of the age, from which the ablest scholars can never free themselves, which draws her down. Compare her writing with that of Abeillard or even of Bernard himself, and preference must be given to the female pen. - The subject she discusses with great art; her arguments are well disposed; she adduces authorities to enforce her reasoning; and she turns the object in every direction, that its whole efficacy may be felt. The interests of lovers were never in the hands of a more able advocate; and never was the breaft of ingratitude fearched with an address, at once so penetrating, and so indulgent. Abeillard's distresses called for indulgence; and had he not found it from the pen of Heloifa, her address to him, which I admire, would not have possessed that softness of character, which is its greatest beauty.

Broken by ill-usage as was the abbot of St. Gildas, the reader perhaps will be disposed to sympathize with his feelings, as he reads Heloisa's letter. What emotions it excited, we know not, as guardedly he seems to have concealed them: but stoic as he was, unless apathy had deadened every sibre, he must have felt its general tendency. Estranged from the world and pleasure by habit and by necessity, the ardent language of Heloisa would find no responsive motions in his heart. He might pity her; perhaps he even might smile at

V.

her folly. But religious, prudent, pious, as he now BOOK was, it would have ill-befeemed his character, to have exhibited any fymptoms of tenderness, or to have returned an answer to Heloisa, from which fuel might have been added to a flame already too fervid. As a friend it was his duty to still the rifing ftorm; and nothing, he might judge, would more contribute to it, than language, which should breathe religious felf-denial and mortification; than fentiments full of piety, of submission to the divine will, and of folicitude for the eternal welfare of his foul. So thinking, he closed Heloifa's letter, and wrote as follows.

" If, fince our conversion from the world to Abeillard's " God, I have not yet written, either to instruct " or to confole you, it was not done neglectingly; " ascribe it to the high opinion I have ever " entertained of your wisdom and prudence. " How could I think, that she stood in need of " my affiftance, to whom heaven had fo largely " distributed its best gifts? You were able, I knew, " by example, as by word, to instruct the ignorant, " to comfort the pufillanimous, and to admonish " the luke - warm. When prioress of Argenteuil. " these duties, I remember, you used long ago to " practife; and if now you give the same attention " to your daughters, as you did then to your " fifters, more is not requifite, and all that I " could fay would be of no value. But if, in

e

s,

e

T.

1-

ic

ry

y.

bit

ifa

rt.

at

BOOK " your humility, you think otherwise, and my

" instructions, in the business of religion, can

" avail you any thing, tell me only, on what

"fubjects, you would have me write, and as God fhall direct me, I will endeavour to fatisfy you."

He then thanks heaven, which had inspired the pious nuns of the Paraclet with a solicitude in regard to the dangers, to which his life was exposed, hoping that by their prayers he should thus experience the divine Protection. "And with this view "principally, continues he, it is, that I hastened to send you the form of prayer, which you "once so earnestly requested from me, you, my fister, formerly dear to me in the world, but "now most dear to me in Christ. Thus may you offer to God a constant sacrifice of prayers, "urging him to pardon our great and manifold

" fins, and to avert the hourly dangers which threaten me."

He talks much of the powerful efficacy of prayer, which he proves from the holy scriptures, insisting particularly on the examples of wives praying for their husbands, and on the general prevalence of semale supplications. He tells her how much he confides in the prayers of the nuns of the Paraclet, and in her own, to which, as her husband, he claims a peculiar right. — At the times he had formerly lived with them at the Paraclet, it was their practice, at the, end of each church-service to

fubjoin a prayer for their founder: he now fends book them another prayer, adapted to his own perilous v. fituation, which he requests, to prove that their charity is fincere, they will as often repeat for him, as they bend their knees before the throne of grace. It runs thus: "O God, who by thy "fervant didst here assemble thy handmaids in thy holy name, grant, we befeech thee, that he be "protected from all adversity, and be restored "fafe to us thy servants!"

Having, as he trusts, secured the prayers he wanted, he goes on folemnly: " But if, by the " permission of heaven, my enemies should so far " prevail as to take away my life; or if, by any " chance, while absent from you, I should be " numbered with the dead; it is my prayer, that " my body be conveyed to the Paraclet. There " my daughters, rather my fifters in Christ. " turning their eyes often to my tomb, will more " strongly be excited to petition heaven for the " repose of my soul. And indeed, to a mind " penetrated with grief, and stricken by the dark " view of its crimes, where can be found a resting " place, at once so safe, and so full of hope, as " that which, in a peculiar manner, bears the " name of, and is dedicated to, the Comforter? " Besides, I know not, where a christian could " find a better grave, than in the fociety of holy " women confecrated to God."

e-

W

ne

ı,

1-

eir

to

BOOK He concludes: " It is my most earnest request, " that the folicitude you now too strongly feel " for the prefervation of my life, you will then extend to my foul. Carry into my grave the " fame degree of love, you showed me when " alive, that is, let your fuffrages for me be " peculiar and incessant. - Live, and farewel: " farewel, my fifters; live, but in Christ; remember " Abeillard!"

> The reader, whom Heloisa's romantic epiftle had left animated and greatly interested in her cause, will, I know, be fadly disappointed by this cold reply. To me it is all I looked for, and it stamps indelibly the character, I had given to the man. Besides, is not the contrast pleasing, which, by lines fo ftrong, divides the hearts of two, whom fabulous report has so often said were made for one another? He evades very artfully the charge of ingratitude, by a complimentary excuse, which, if it did not satisfy, would, he knew, please her vanity.- His earnest request for prayer shows how much he prized his own concerns, and how much affliction had lowered the exuberance of his foul. When he dwells on its efficacy, it is a dull discussion; and when he prescribes the new form, which is daily to be recited for his fafety, we fee the abbot, big in his own importance, and felfish as became his dignity.

The latter part of his address is solemn and BOOK affecting; but had he thought less of himself, or women of Heloisa, never could it have fallen from his pen: he would have felt, that every word was armed with a point, far too sharp for her irritable texture. But in the dispositions, I have described, what would he not risk in the gratification of his ruling passion? He concludes in a distich, the sentiment of which is apposite, and very analogous to the general features of the piece.

On the whole, though the letter be not fuch, as a modern novelift would write; yet, as it came in character from Abeillard, it merits commendation: he meant it well. The event, indeed, will show, that he was not sufficiently guarded; and perhaps a less austere reply would have succeeded better.—In point of composition, it is in the style of all his other writings, harsh, inelegant, languid, and sometimes intricate. It harmonized with his mind.—We shall now see, how it was received by Heloisa.

C

f

e

y

V

e

r

1-

e

ts

le

e

n

15

Agitated by the workings of her imagination, she had looked with impatience for the return of her messenger. It was an anxious moment. Many times she repented, that she had said so much; her letter might offend, or it might give him pain. It occurred sometimes to her, that she had omitted things of the greatest moment, and that her long address was too trisling to merit notice. Was she

300 K fure, the messenger would find him? He might have absconded from the pursuits of his enemies; V. or the fatal stroke might have been given, which was for ever to deprive her of his fight! Should he deign to answer her letter; what tidings would it bring? - In this wild uncertainty her mind was toffed, when the meffenger arrived, and he brought her an answer from Abeillard.

He who has experienced that inanition of heart, which disappointment causes, when expectation has been highly raifed, will best know what Heloifa felt in perufing these cold and inauspicious lines. There was not a fingle fentiment which met her feelings. A formal compliment, much about prayer and its efficacy, were the principal topics; and he closed this languid fermon by a cruel request, which infensibility only, or the certain prospect of dissolution, could have dictated. She hung over the heavy words; she read them to her fifters; a general confternation prevailed; they faw the affaffin's knife pointed at the breaft of their dearest friend; they turned their thoughts to heaven, but the prayer he had fent them, and which they now attempted to repeat, could find no utterance. Heloifa, who should have moderated this burst of intemperate wailing, only added to it by her fighs and forrowing geftures: but in her it was not the grief of apprehension only which interested; she had other thoughts to contend

with, fuch as disappointment, ingratitude, fuspi- BOOR cion, and unavailing love had raifed. In this disorder, again she resolved to disburden her heavy mind to Abeillard. - The moment which the agitated mind chuses for the expression of its feelings, is of all the least adapted to the display of reason, and the use of temperate, congruous, and guarded language. Such compositions must ever be read with candor, and be judged with indulgence. Why I have made this remark, will foon be evident.

The opening of this fecond letter is rather capti- Heloid's feous and unimportant. - Heloisa expresses a surprise cond letter. that, in the very front of his last falutations Abeillard should have placed her name before his own: this, she fays, was contrary to the usual style of epiftolary correspondence, and even contrary to the obvious order of things.

She then feizes upon those concluding lines of his letter: "But if, by the permission of heaven, " my enemies should so far prevail as to take away " my life, &c." and she asks with emphasis: " Oh Abeillard! how could your mind fuggest such " ideas; how could your hand write them? No. " no; God will never fo far forfake his fervants. " as to perpetuate our lives, when you are gone: " he will not give us that kind of existence, which " is ten times worse than death." She reminds him, that it will be his duty rather, who had V. obsequies, and to commend their souls to God.

She entreats him: "In future, do, Sir, be more
"cautious in your expressions. Already, alas! we
"are wretched enough; why should you make
"us more so; why, before the hour, deprive us
"of that poor life, which we drag along with
"difficulty? Each day is sufficiently loaded with
"its own misery; and that last fatal one, covered
"with a robe of bitterness, will bring to each of
"us an ample share of forrow."—The address is
folemn and affecting.

She goes on: "You request, should your death " happen whilst absent from us, that your body " be conveyed to the Paraclet: thus, you think, " with your image ever before us, to derive " greater benefit from our prayers." - "Do you "then imagine, (she exclaims in a strain of " empaffioned eloquence,) we can ever forget "you? Or could that be a feafon for prayer, " when general confternation shall have banished " every tranquil thought: when reason shall have " loft its fway, and the, tongue its utterance: " when the mind, in frantic rage, rebelling " against its maker, shall rather seek to provoke " his anger by complaints, than to assuage him " by fupplications? - God grant that day may be " our last! If the sole mention of your death " thus strike us to the heart; what would the

"reality not do? It is our prayer to heaven, BOOK that we may not furvive you; that we may V.

" never have to perform that office, which we

" expect from your hands."

Again she entreats him to be more considerate for the sake of them all; at least, that he will spare Heloisa, by refraining from all expressions which, like the shafts of death, penetrate her soul. — The succeeding lines are placid and beautiful: "For the mind worn down by grief is a "stranger to repose; plunged in troubles, it is "little able to think on God. Will you impede "his service, to whom you have devoted our "lives? It were to be wished that every necessary "event, which brings forrow with it, might "take place, when we expect it least: for if that "torment us, which human foresight cannot "avert, it only raises unavailing sears." To this she applies the words of her favorite Lucan,

Sit subitum quodcumque paras; sit cæca futuri Mens hominum fati! Liceat sperare timenti.

Lib. ii.

The last words of the poet, may he that fears, still live in hope, touched an irritable sibre, with which, in the breast of Heloisa, was too nearly associated a long series of calamitous respections; and its motion raised a storm, which the reader, perhaps, will view with wonder.

B O O K

" Hope! cried she; and if I lose you, what have "I to hope for? Must I remain a pilgrim here, " when you, my only comfort, are gone from " me? But even in you what comfort have I, fave " only the thought, that still you live? All other " joys are forbidden to me: even the privilege of " your company it feems is too much for Heloifa!" Having indulged this first fally of passion, she is hurried impetuously forward. - " May I then " fay, that heaven has been my relentless perfe-" cutor! If you call it clemency, where is cruelty " to be found? Fortune, that favage destiny, " has fpent against me every arrow of her rage: " fhe has none left to throw at others. Her quiver " was full, and she exhausted it on me: mortals "have no longer cause to dread her: nor if " there were a fhaft left, would it find in me " a fpot to light on. But though bleeding at " every pore, my enemy does not flay her bar-" barous hand: she suspends the fatal stroke, and " only fears left my wounds prove mortal. Of " all the wretched I am the most forlorn and " wretched!" - With great expression she relates, how much fhe had been raifed above the rest of her sex, and how low she had fallen! that there was no woman of birth or fortune, that would have compared fituation with her; and that in prosperity and in adversity her life had known no measure. " My happiness

### ABEILLARD AND HELOISA. 29

" was unbounded, she says, so is my forrow. BOOK Hanging over my pitiable state, I shed the more V.

" tears, when I view the magnitude of my loffes;

" but they redouble, when recollection tells me,

" how dear that possession was, which I have lost.

" To the greatest joys have succeeded the greatest

" forrows."

y

:

r

ls

if

e

at

r-

d

Of

nd

he

ve

n!

e,

T;

er

efs

Again she arraigns the ways of providence, and boldly enters on the discussion of a subject, into which the decency of modern language will not permit me to follow her. There is strength in her reasoning, but the sentiments are indelicate: passion may be pleaded as some excuse, and the manners of the age will come in to assist her justification. Modern delicacy, which sometimes borders on affectation, is no proof of innocence of character.

"Having lowered yourself, she continues, to raise me, and thus given dignity to myself and all my samily, what more could be expected? "All guilt was cancelled before God and man. "But why was Heloisa born to be the occasion of so black a persidy—!" She then proceeds to show, from historical examples, how baneful has ever been the influence of women on the greatest men; still drawing some consolation from the reslection, that, like the women she had mentioned, no intentional guilt could be imputed to her: but was she sure, she says, that her many antecedent

V. "God then grant me power, she exclaims, to do "ample penance! May my forrow, lengthened out to many days, bear some proportion to what you have suffered! It is but just, and to it I consign my life. Thus to Abeillard, at least, "I shall make some atonement, if I make none to heaven."

These were the words, which opened to her view a scene, that in candor, truth, and simplicity she lays before her friend. " I will now " disclose to you, she says, all the secret foibles of " my heart. Tell me then, can I hope to appeafe " the divine anger, I who, at every moment, am " charging heaven with cruelty? My murmurs " may draw on me greater vengeance: the forrow " at leaft, of fuch a penitent, will not avert it. " But why do I talk of penitence? Whilft the mind " retains all its former attachment to fin, what " avails the external language of grief? Eafy, " indeed, it is to declare one's faults; it is eafy to " put on the imposing garb of penitence: but oh " God! how hard is it to tear the mind from those " affections, which were once fo dear!" - She confirms these awful sentiments by the words of holy Job, and she adduces the authority of Gregory and Ambrofe. Then she proceeds: "So fascinating " were the pleafures we once indulged; the " thought of them cannot give me pain, nor

a can I efface their impression. Wherever I turn BOOK " my eyes, in all their charms, there are they " present to me. Even in my dreams the dear " phantoms hover round me.—During the pomp " of awful facrifice, when the foul, on the wings " of prayer, should rise more pure to heaven, the " fame importunate ideas haunt my wretched foul; " they occupy every avenue to my heart. When " I should grieve for what is passed, I only sigh " that the fame pleasures return no more. Too " faithful has my mind been to its impressions: it " holds up before me every circumstance of our " loft connexion, when all the scenes of vanished " joys play wantonly before me. - Sometimes, I " know, the strong workings of my mind betray " themselves on my countenance; I am heard to " pronounce words, which escape unthinkingly " from me. Alas! how truly wretched is my con-"dition! To me furely may be applied those " plaintive lines of the apostle; Miserable mortal " that I am; who will free me from this body of " death?" " Could I but add with truth! The " grace of God through Jefus Christ our Lord." Such is this plaintive lamentation of Heloifa, which has often been fo unfairly reprefented. It is not the shameless declaration of an abandoned nun, voluntarily loft in obscenity, and glorying in

the state; but it is the ingenuous confession which a penitent, forrowing in her mind, makes

o d

to

to

er li-

of afe m

ars ow it.

nd hat

fy, to

ofe She

of ory ting

the nor V. Surprised we may be, that time, retirement, application, business, religion, had not erased the impressions from her soul; but this does but prove, how ardent her imagination, and how retentive her recollection was. There are minds of an extraordinary organization; and such was that of Heloisa: the very circumstances which, in others, would have banished thought, falling in her way, only fixed it more. To say she was profligate, is to speak a falshood; to call her impudent in the confession of her weaknesses, is not to know the circumstances in which she was; and not to pity her, is to possess a heart of stone.

Heloisa then goes on to declare her unworthiness:

"They, who cannot look into my soul, think me

"virtuous; they think me chaste, because my

"actions are so; when surely this amiable virtue

"only dwells within the mind. Men may praise

"me, but before God I am worthless: he is the

"fearcher of hearts, and his eye penetrates into

"the inmost thoughts."—She mentions the hypocritical morality of the age, which is satisfied with
the outward show of virtue. Some praise, she

owns, is due to such actions; but that we are
obliged not only to abstain from evil, but likewise
to do good: neither of them, however, she declares,
have any claim to a reward, unless they be done
from a motive of pleasing God.

But if fo, she adds, what must her pretensions be to any reward hereafter? "Through the " whole course of my life, God knows, what have " been my dispositions. It was you, Abeillard, and not him, whom I feared most to offend; vou, and not him, I was most anxious to please. " My mind is still unaltered. It was no love of " him, but your command which drew me to the " cloifter. How miserable then my condition if. " undergoing fo much, I have no prospect of a " reward hereafter! By external show, you have " been deceived like others: you ascribed to the " impressions of religion, what sprang from another " fource; and therefore recommending yourfelf to "my prayers, you alk that fuccour from me, " which I look for from you."

She begs, he will not place that confidence in her, which may cause her to lose the assistance, fhe wants fo much. If he thinks her in good health, he will apply no medicines; if in affluence, his hand will not be open to relieve her; and if strong. the may fall, alas! before he can run in to support her. Undeferved praise, she observes, has been the ruin of many.

" Let me then entreat you, she adds, if you be an enemy to flattery, and a friend to truth, to " cease from praising me. If you think, I possess any thing commendable, do not you, at leaft. raise the wind of vanity, which may diffipate it

VOL. IL

,

e

:

y

e

e

e

0 )-

h

e

ce

ſe.

S,

1e

34

v. "at a blast. Would he be thought an able phyv. "fician, who, from external fymptoms should
"pretend to determine on the nature of an inter"nal complaint? Things which are common to
"the faint and the sinner have no merit in the
"fight of God. Such are all outward practices, to
"which the hypocrite more sedulously adheres,
"than the greatest faint."

She continues the same beautiful chain of reflections: "The heart of man is depraved; it is "inscrutable to human fight: who yet has father omed it? And there are ways which seem to us "straight, the ends of which lead to death. "Where God has reserved judgment to himself, it is rash in man to pronounce. Praise no one while he lives. Give not commendation at a "time, when the very act of doing it may make him undeserving of it. To me your praises bring the greatest delight; but therefore are they more dangerous." — The most christian moralist never expressed finer sentiments.

Thus she concludes: "Tell me not, in your "exhortations to a religious life, "that virtue is "perfected in temptation, and that he only shall be crowned, who has stoutly contended." I "look for no laurels, no crown of victory, It is enough for me to keep out of the way of danger "I like not the perils of war. If God will but give me the lowest place in heaven, I shall be

" fatisfied. No jealoufy is there, where each one BOOK is pleafed with his own allotment of happiness." V.

More reflections on this beautiful epiftle will not be necessary. The reader must have made many as he came along; and he must have admired, have pitied, and have praifed the lovely writer. No subject perhaps has ever been before him. from which the moralist, the philosopher, and the man of pleasure could draw more edification and improvement. The exceptionable passages, if any there really be, will have been judged with the indulgence I requested. Severer critics may be morose, and I shall not value their censures. or envy their morality. - In language this letter is much inferior to the last: it is less studied, and confequently less classical and elegant. But the thoughts are more glowing, the expression more rapid, and the connexion of argument more precise. As the ideas occurred, she wrote them. in the first words which offered. Such is the character of passion; neglectful, but nervous, impetuous, and full. On examination it will be found that the arrangement of her thoughts is admirable: this, it should feem, is contrary to the nature of unpremeditated composition: but surprise will cease, when we reflect, how repeatedly her mind had dwelt on the subject; it was a system of ideas: the occasion therefore no sooner called for their expression, than they fell from her pen, glowing,

r

11

I

s

T

it

e

w. methodical, and natural, as they had pre-existed in the fancy of Heloisa. But innocence surely may allay with the most servid imagination, and the humble confession of weaknesses can never be confirmed into an attachment to vice.

The abbot of St. Gildas was little affected by this pathetic remonstrance. He had taken his resolution, or rather his mind had taken its bent, from which no effort could withdraw it. He saw, I think, with some commiseration, the unfortunate state in which Heloisa was, and he knew the sway he had over her. He resolved therefore to try the power of serious expostulation; he would prove himself the experienced physician; to whom she had alluded, and as her distemper was known to him, he would apply a remedy. This conduct was consistent and friendly, and it merits praise.

Abeillard's reply. The subject of her letter he divides into four distinct heads, which he separately discusses. "I "will reply to them, says Abeillard, not so "much in my own jnstification, as to instruct and to advise you. When you shall be made fensible, that my requests are sounded on reason, you will be more disposed to assent to them; when you shall discover that, in my own concerns I am not reprehensible, you will listen to me when I undertake to direct your's; and the more blameless I shall appear, the less,

"I think, you will dare to undervalue my soos." This is authoritative and manly.

His first reply is to the trifling objection of her name having been placed before his own. This. he fays, was done agreeably to her own documents: for is not she become, by her religious profession, the spouse of God, and consequently his mistress and superior? - He then shows, in a long and rather puerile differtation, what those virtues principally are, which should decorate the mystic spouse. She is typified in the black virgin of the Canticles, a form to which Heloifa, he observes, in the fable robes of her order, bears fome resemblance. He descants on the qualities of negro-flesh, which in some regards, he says, has peculiar attractions. - But I pretend not to understand the language of mysticism, which is always intricate, and fometimes feems to glow with indecent allufions.

To her fecond complaint, that by mentioning the danger to which his life was exposed, he had but added to her forrows, he says: "And was "not this also done agreeably to your own "earnest request? I have your words in my "recollection, (and he cites them): why then "complain, that I have made you partake of "my anxiety, when you had forced me to relate it? Is it, whilst I hold my life in suspense, "that you would deem it expedient to be in

1

" gladness? In joy you would be my companion, " but not in forrow. It is in advertity that the V. " real friend is tried. Let me then hear no more " of these expressions, filence these wailings, " which, in truth, are not the language of fincere " affection. Or, if this be not agreeable to you, " permit me, at least, surrounded as I am by " dangers, to be anxious for my foul's good, and " to make what provision, I can, for another " world. This forefight, if you really love me, "Heloisa, you can never censure." - He tells her, if she had any confidence in the divine mercies towards him, that rather it would be her wish to see him freed from present miseries, which were become intolerable; that she must know, that he would be his benefactor, whose kind hand should close his eyes: what then might be my fate, fays he, is uncertain, but I now know what I fuffer: that the termination of actual mifery would at all events, be a happiness; and that they who truly love, look not to their own advantage, but to the ease of their friends. "And though their con-" versation, he goes on, give delight, they would " rather they should be absent, and be happy, than " be present, and be wretched. But even the poor " comfort of my wretched presence cannot be " allowed to you: as then you have no interest

" in me, why wish me rather to live in pain, than die

" to be happy? And could you draw any advantage BOOK

" from the length of my misfortunes, would it be

" the part of a friend or of an enemy to defire

" their prolongation? The name of enemy does

" not please you, I know; cease, therefore, from

" your unavailing lamentations."

1

1

On the third head he is very fhort. He applauds her disapprobation of praise, which only makes her more deserving of it: he trusts, it is as fincerely in her mind, as it was ftrongly marked in her letter: if fo, fays he, you are truly humble, nor will it be diffipated by my commendation: but he advises her to be on her guard, left by seeming to decline praife, she should only court it the more, and make her mouth give the lie to the feelings of her heart. " My praise, he observes, shall not " elate you; it shall animate you in your advances " to perfection. The more it is your wish to please " me, with the greater ardor you will practife " my instructions. I commend not your virtues, " that you may glory in them: and observe that, " as the cenfures of enemies are often too " prejudiced, fo are the commendations of our " friends fometimes too partial to be relied on." In a more grave and folemn tone he then enters on her fourth charge: "It remains, fays Abeillard, " that I examine more minutely what has long " been the subject of your incessant complaints; I

" mean the circumstance, which drew us from

BOOK " the world. Here you accuse the ways of pro-" vidence, when it would be more equitable to " extol them. I had thought, indeed, that long " ago this bitterness had been erased from your " mind. The more dangerous it is, at once " threatening the ruin of your foul and body, " the more it merits pity, and the more it gives " me pain. You declare, Heloifa, that your only " wish is to please me: quit then these baneful s thoughts, that you may torment me no longer " that you may make me happy, With them w you cannot please me; nor with them can you st think to go along with me to happiness hereafter. "You have professed a willinguess to follow me e even to the gates of mifery, and will you " let me go without you to those of endless " joy?-Recollect what you once faid; call to mind " the words of your last letter, that in the manner " of our conversion, and in the mode of God's " chastifement, heaven had been rather propitious " to me. " - He then very fully discusses the fubject, and enumerates some circumstances of their former lives, which could only be known to themselves, dwelling on his own excesses, which, he thinks, very justly draw after them the vengeance of heaven: every where, even in the acts of greatest severity, he sees the paternal hand of mercy, working their mutual falvation. and drawing good from evil. - The whole is

interspersed with many pious and apposite reflec- 300 % tions, which mark his refignation to providence, and the habits of a penitential and religious mind. Indelicacies there are, but they are inseparable from the subject: Heloisa herself had first moved them, and I can therefore pardon the good abbot,

who only continued the discussion.

•

1

1

If she be so much disposed to grieve, he then advises her to turn her eyes to another object; and he recounts the circumstances of our Saviour's passion: this, he fays, should challenge all her tears. He extols the wonders of his love, and he calls him her only true friend, - Again he turns his view to the divine mercies, which had been fo indulgent to them both, and he concludes with a prayer, which he begs she will often repeat for herself and for him.

There was now a paufe in this interesting correspondence. Abeillard had done his duty, and he waited with patience, till an answer from the Paraclet should inform him, that his letter had had its defired effect, and that Heloifa was returned to a more composed and more fortunate disposition of mind. She had received the letter, and was foon fenfible from its perufal, that Abeillard was still her friend, that his judgment was better formed than her's, that his religion was more exemplary, that his virtue was more perfect, and that his general views of things were more-

V. defigns of providence. She would not answer it immediately; she would permit its documents to operate on her heart; and when the effect should be more secure, she would once more write to her friend.

Mr. Pope's Heloifa.

As the elegant poem of Mr. Pope, according to his own declaration, was partly extracted from the foregoing letters, it will not be an unseasonable digression to bring it before the reader, on the present occasion. I know the fancy of a poet is not to be curbed, and he that should dare to do it, would infringe his best prerogative. It is the abuse only of this power which is censurable. Mr. Pope had read these famous letters; but I think, he had only read an unfaithful translation of them, which was published in French, at the end of the last century. In this translation the characters of the two lovers are depicted in the falfest colors. The reader, who is now, I hope, better acquainted with them, may perhaps be disposed to think with me, that our inimitable poet might have adhered more strictly to historical truth, without any danger of undue restraint, or without having deprived his composition of a fingle beauty. He that has known nothing of the real lives of Abeillard and Heloifa, may have read this poem, and admired it; but he read in the dark, and he admired from the mechanical

V.

impression which beauty makes upon the mind. It BOOK is rather a rhapfody, replete with elegant diction, and the most delightful imagery, than a methodised composition: it wants order, an exact discrimination of ideas, and that accurate fitness of character and local objects, which the poet, on other occasions so eminently possessed. I have seen a garden, into which, without much order, the most beautiful flowers of nature have been thrown, and of which the gardener's hand was not permitted to check the luxuriant growth, and this has fometimes brought to my recollection Mr. Pope's Heloifa.

The poem opens at the moment, when Heloisa had read Abeillard's letter to his friend, which

had been put into her hands;

at

r

ts

R

e

0

le

le

le ·

is

0

le

C.

I

n

ne le

1e

e,

oe

le

al

or

le

al

ad

ne

al

In these deep solitudes, &c.

But it was not love which first rose in her heart; it was pity for his fufferings, of which she had perused the sad story, and anxiety on account of the danger to which his life was hourly exposed. These sentiments, as circumstances stood, were far more natural than love.

The stir she then makes about the dear fatal name, is unmeaning, and in the true style of a boarding-school Miss. The name of Abeillard was familiar to every mouth at the Paraclet, and the BOOK abbess doubtless was free to pronounce it, and to write it, when she pleased.

O write it not my hand! - &c.

Her design in writing was to inquire about his situation, and to ease her mind of thoughts, which gave her pain. This was laudable and seemly.

The following passage, Relentless walls! &c. is beautifully poetical; but it ill accords with Heloisa's own account, or with the state of mind which the poet had himself given her. Are rugged rocks often found within the precincts of a convent; or could those of the Paraclet have been worn by holy knees, which till this moment, as Heloisa tells us, had been inhabited only by thieves and howling beasts, and where the name of God had never sounded?

Though cold like you, unmov'd, and filent grown:

Can hardly be applied to her, whom the poet has described, the slave of love and man.

I tremble too, whene'er my own I find:

It is remarkable that the name of Heloisa is only, I think, once mentioned in Abeillard's long epistle; she might therefore easily count the missortunes which followed so close behind it. — Can it be said, when she entered the

convent's folitary gloom, that flern religion there BOOK quenched the flame, which still burnt so suriously?

There dy'd the best of passions, love and fame?

Is fame a passion?

Yet write, oh write me all, &c.

0

is

d,

15

1'5

ch

ks

or

by

fa

es od

et

is

d's

int

nd he Can the reader possibly know what she wishes him to write? History indeed tells us, that she wished to hear of the perils which threatened his life; but of this the poet says nothing. Incessantly he talks of his sighs, of his tears, of his grief, as if they sympathized with those of Heloisa; as if he also had been a forlorn and haples lover. All the tears he shed were on his own account.

Heaven first taught letters, &c.

are charming lines, and improved from the thought of Heloifa.—So are the following

Thou know'ft how guiltless first I met thy flame: &c.

They are highly descriptive, and drawn from the real circumstances of their situation. But as to divine truths, we know that few of them fell from his tongue on the ear of Heloisa. Their hours were not spent in learned dalliance. — In the two last lines of this paragraph is made a transition from the past to the present time, for y. once incongruous in the gradation of passion, and extravagant in itself.

How oft, when press'd to marriage, &c.

Heloisa was, but once, pressed to marriage, and then, though reluctantly, she consented. The knot was soon after tied. Yet it must appear to the unlearned reader, from this passage, which contains the delightful description of disinterested love, and from others, that the lovers were never joined in wedlock:

No, make me mistress to the man I love!

And how can such a preposterous wish be put into the mouth of Heloisa? She had then been the wife of Abeillard for many long years; and had she not been so; surely, all circumstances considered, it was a wild wish. — Much of this passage is taken from the original letter; but, as usual, the abbess of the Paraclet is made to utter the thoughtless sentiments of the romantic Heloisa, in her eighteenth year.

Canst thou forget that sad, that solemn Day, When victims at you altar's foot we lay? &c.

On that fad day the altar of the Paraclet did not exist: nor were Abeillard and Heloisa either professed on the same day, or at the same place: one was at Argenteuil, the other at St. Denys. BOOK
But the poet's description of this awful scene is
truly admirable, and amply compensates for the
errors of time and place; it is likewise not widely
remote from the real event, as I described it in
simple prose. Still Mr. Pope will have it, that her
eyes were now fixed on Abeillard; and what is
more incredible, he even makes her say that,

Love only was her call.

at d

nd

ot

he

ns

e,

ed

out

een

nd

ces

this

as

tter

isa,

did

ther

ace:

Could it be love that drew her from him to the cloister? Obedience, we know, it was, and a heroic submission to his imperious mandate.

From the ensuing lines, which are indecent, and no ways warranted by the real language of Heloisa, the poet, with an apparent shock, turns to more becoming sentiments:

Ah no! instruct me other joys to prize,
With other beauties charm my partial eyes:

Why with other beauties, when before he had mentioned none?

Ah! think at least thy flock deserves thy care, &c.

The whole passage is almost literally taken from the letters; which shows, that the poet knew how to copy accurately, when it pleased his muse.

In these lone walls (their days eternal bound)
These moss-grown domes with spiry turrets crown'd,

Where awful arches make a noon-day night, And the dim windows fhed a folemn light: &c.

Struck with this awful picture, we are not aware that it does not harmonize with the profaic plain roofs, just mentioned, or with Paraclet's white walls. It is the description of an antique and venerable abbey: but the introduction of this gloomy scene was necessary that Abeillard's eyes might diffuse their rays, and dispel the darkness

See how the force of others pray'rs I try (O pious fraud of am'rous charity!)

How was Abeillard to know that she had recourse to others prayers? But this line may be underflood; its corresponding one can convey no idea to the most mystic conception. To beg the assistance of others prayers, on which Abeillard, in his letter, had to much infifted, is the fraud of amorous charity.

The darkfome pines, &c.

Poetry has nothing more beautiful than these lines. The most airy mind cannot read them without some pause of reflection. The personisication of melancholy is awfully striking; and he that has been fad can tell, how often the inward gloom of his foul feemed to spread over every object,

## ABEILLARD AND HELOISA. 49

object, and to tinge the gayest scenes. Such were BOOK the silver springs and slowery meads of the Para- vielet to the forlorn eye of Heloisa.

Ah wretch! believ'd the spoule of God in vain, &c.

The whole passage, which follows this line, is very nearly taken from that part of Heloisa's second letter, which I styled her lamentation, and the ressections I there made, I wish may be applied to it. They will serve, perhaps, to reconcile the delicacy of some readers to a train of ideas, which, otherwise, must appear extremely reprehensible. Mr. Pope, whose pencil was ever charged with colors, has certainly heightened some expressions, and added of his own: for example;

Now turn'd to heav'n, I weep my past offence; Now think of thee, and curse my innocence.

How impious are these last words, and how unfairly do they represent the forrowing mind of Heloisa! In bitterness she confessed her weaknesses, lamenting that still she was subject to them. Shall the poet, when he handles historic subjects, have no respect for truth of character, and only seek to please by such means, as his imagination may suggest?

How happy is the blamelels veltal's lot 2-&c.

Vol. II.

È

G 's

d

18

28

fe

ea ea

ft-

in of

efe

em

ifi-

he

ard

ery

E

BOOK Can these lines be read without a wish of being this blameless vestal? I think, I have known nuns, to whom, in truth, each word might have been applied. In their innocence taken from the world; taught to believe that out of those walls all was fin and wickedness, and that within them religion, with every virtue, only dwelt; impressed with the awful idea, that they heard the voice of God calling them to the happy state: could there be minds better prepared for the ingress of that charming enthusiasm, which the poet has described?

> Grace shines around her with serenest beams, And whifp'ring angels prompt her golden dreams. For her th' unfading rose of Eden blooms, And wings of feraphs fhed divine perfumes; For her the spouse prepares the bridal ring, For her white virgins Hymeneals fing; To founds of heav'nly harps she dies away, And melts in visions of eternal day.

Such was not the state of Heloisa. The tumult of her mind, Mr. Pope then strongly contrasts with the ferenity of his blameless vestal;

Far other dreams, &c.

He availed himself of a fingle line in the original, and out of it drew a descriptive scene, too glowing in its coloring, and too luscious in its imagery. How unguarded, in general, is the poet's pen, even when he pretends to admire virtue, and to BOOK be in love with innocence!

For thee the fates, feverely kind, &c.

The transition is beautiful, from the troubled breast of Heloisa, to the long dead calm of Abeillard's mind. It is copied from the letters, the last lines excepted, which are in the happiest style of our poet:

1

t

lt

af

ıl,

ıg

y.

1,

Still as the fea, ere winds were taught to blow, Or moving spirit bade the waters flow; &c.

The following passage is also sufficiently justified by the original,

What scenes appear, where'er I turn my view? &c. With this difference, however, that there it is simply narrative, and here poefy has profusely spread her most bewitching graces; there Heloisa bemoans the captive state of her soul, and here she recounts it with seeming complacency. So opposite is art to nature!

But with this departure from truth, (which, with the impression of his lines on my mind, I could not but have forgiven,) Mr. Pope was not satisfied: he proceeds in a description, which is all shelitious; and from an opening, gentle as the first dawnings of grace, rises to a climax of passion which terminates in raging phrenzy;

Snatch me, just mounting, from the blest abode, Assist the fiends, and tear me from my God!

Pook She fays to Abeillard. With reason has this passage been often censured as extremely reprehensible. And would his Heloisa have been less amiable, had she been less extravagant? In truth, I know not, how she could so soon have lost sight of the cold and lifeless Abeillard, she had just described; and the reslection should rather have checked this rant of passon. But as in tragic composition, every affection of the mind must be carried to its criss, and there burst, so would not Mr. Pope quit his Heloisa, till he had extinguished in her every ray of that transcendent reason, which she so eminently possessed.

Happily, however, shocked at her own extravagance, she instantly exclaims;

No, fly me, fly me, far as pole from pole; Rife Alps between us! and whole oceans roll!

But the annexed ideas prove, that her underflanding was full bewildered. Ah, come not: Abeillard was not disposed to come.—Write not: this was the very thing, she had so earnestly requested.—Think not once of me: it was a groundless solicitude:

Nor share one pang of all I felt for thee.

Thy oaths I quit: she was not free to break the matrimonial bond.

Forget, renounce me, hate whate'er was mine.

The reader, who knows what Abeillard's real BOOF dispositions had long been, and how much Heloisa v. complains of his ungrateful usage, will hardly relish the poet's opposition to the truth of history.

At last opens, in charming measure, the triumph of grace:

Oh grace ferene ! &c.

I am delighted with this return of reason, and to find again the Heloisa, repentant and guiltless, whom these pages have exhibited. I knew her not in the meretricious dress of the poet; yet awkward is her following attitude;

See in her cell fad Heloifa Spread:

And it may be made a question, whether, spread as she is described, she could also, at thetime, be propt on some tomb?—Mr. Pope likewise might have known that tombs are never raised in the cells of nuns: but it is clear, though he calls it a cell, that he has placed her in the cloisters, or rather in one of the ailes of the church.

Here, as I watch'd the dying lamps around, From yonder shrine I heard a hollow sound: "Come, Sister, come!" &c.

It is the invitation, which a fainted maid gives to the fad Heloifa; she calls her to eternal sleep well therefore may she say that all here is calm;

That grief forgets to groan, and love to weep.

Though to fleep for ever be no enticing thought, yet is Heloifa ready to obey the call;

I come, I come! &c.

Still, turning to Abeillard, she begs he will pay the last sad office, and catch her stying soul; or rather, (which would be more in character, as he was a priest and an abbot,) that in sacred vestments he would stand by her side, and

Teach me at once, and learn of me to die.

But as she speaks to Abeillard of her own death only, where is the propriety of the exclamation,

Oh death, all-eloquent! you only prove, What dust we doat on, when 'tis man we love?

This she might have said, hanging over the corse of her husband.

Then too, when fate shall thy fair frame destroy, &c.

One grave did unite them, as the sequel of this history will show.—The conclusion of this admired poem proceeds in the same line of beauty: it is exquisitely affecting; and though we know, that Mr. Pope was never joined by sate in a similar line of griess to Heloisa; though he never loved so long, so well as she, yet he was the bard to tell her sad and tender story;

The well-fung woes will footh my pensive ghost.

I have ventured this fhort critique on Mr. Pope's 800 K Heloifa. Blemishes it certainly has, as a composition, only that they are lost to most eyes, in the dazzling glare of its beauties. But its moral imperfections are of a more serious nature. Never, I believe, was there a more dangerous production. It presents poison to the hand of inexperienced youth, and the cup which holds it is all of burnished gold. It would have been well, I believe, for the common interests of virtue and innocence, had this feductive poem never feen the light.

The ferious contents of Abeillard's last letter, though they had not wholly reformed the mind of Heloifa, which was not possible, yet had they greatly contributed to abate its too fervid tone. She felt herfelf more tranquil, and more refigned to heaven: this was the moment to answer his

letter.

". That you may not have it in your power to Heloid's a charge me with disobedience, says she, as you " ordered me to check the language of immoderate " grief, I have done it: when I write to you. " my expressions shall be more temperate, but, " on other occasions, I cannot promife to refrain " my tongue. Nothing is less in a man's power " than his own mind: to obey it he is often forced, " and feldom can he command its operations. " The fudden impulse of strong affections cannot

BOOK "be at once repressed; their effects are visibly mar-"ked on the countenance, and they announce them-V. " felves in words, which are their readieft vehicle. " From the abundance of the heart the mouth " fpeaketh. But even when my tongue shall be " ungovernable, I will keep my hand in fub-" jection: it would be well, if the mind which " grieves were as fubfervient to my voice. - To " reftore my mind to ferenity, is not, I fear, in w your power; but you can moderate its forrow. " One thought is banished by another, The chain " of gloomy meditation is broken, when new " objects arife to engage the attention; and the " more honorable, or expedient, or interesting " thefe may appear, the more intense will be their " impression, and the more will the mind turn

" afide from trouble."

With this view, she proposes to Abeillard two subjects, on which she would wish him to enter. The first was the origin of the monastic institute, as it related to nuns; and the second, the ordaining of a rule solely adapted to women, which should be received at the Paraclet. This, she observes, had not hitherto been done; in consequence of which, all that engaged in the monastic life, men or women, were obliged to practife the same rule; which, through the whole Latin church, was that of St. Bennet. She then examines this samous rule, and shows, in how many instances, its practices and forms are incompatible with

the habits and dispositions of women; for whom BOOK. therefore, she determines, it could not have been primarily intended. " But then, cries she, how " ridiculous, and even presumptuous, to bind " ourfelves, by a folemn engagement, to an in-" flitute, which we can neither understand nor " practife. Prudence is the mother of all virtues, " and by reason must our conduct be ever regu-" lated: these are the only basis of whatever may " be termed laudable or religious. Before a bur-" den be laid on, the strength of the shoulders " must he tried, which are to support it."

1

Even St. Bennet himself, she notices, had wifely modelled his rule, agreeably to the circumstances of the times, and the dispositions of his fubject: what then would he not have done, had he been employed to give laws to the weaker fex? For this fex, she thinks, it would be enough, not to aim, in their religious inftitutes, at a higher perfection, than what is practifed by the ministers of the church; even it would be well could they emulate the virtues of the pious laity. Would to God, she goes on, we were only " able, by our best exertions, to fulfil the gosper " precepts, and not to furpass them; that we " did not aspire to be more than christians!" -From the greater fobriety of women, which arises, Heloisa remarks, from the nature of their constitutions, she draws an argument to prove,

V.

that they should be under no restriction in the use of BOOK what they may chuse to eat or drink. The world, she favs, is visibly grown old, and its inhabitants possess no longer that strength of texture, which belonged to their progenitors: rules, therefore, which were enacted for the good of men, should vary as he varies: owing to this observation, she says, it was, that St. Bennet indulged his monks with the use of wine. - "At all events, continues she, why be so-" licitous about things, which are fo indifferent in " themselves; which the sunner and the saint may " equally practife. Let fin be prohibited; but let us " have every other indulgence possible." She proceeds to discuss the nature of external observances. which she treats as things of no value. Virtue alone, fhe fays, has merit before heaven; the true christian is foleley occupied in perfecting his moral character! it is from the will that evil flows, and not from what is external to it.

She concludes: " But it is now, Sir, your duty " to make fuch regulations for us, as may be bin-" ding on the Paraclet for ever. You, under God, " are the founder of this house. When you are gone, " we may have a teacher, who may be disposed to " build on another foundation. For us, we fear. " he may be less solicitous, or we may be less atten-" tive to him: should he be willing to serve us, as " you are, he may not be equally capable. Do you " speak to us, and we will listen. Farewel."

The found judgment and enlarged views of BOOK Heloifa are eminently confpicuous throughout this letter. Her's are not the ideas of a woman, narrowed by a cloiftered education. She had studied, with much attention, the character of her fex; the defign and nature of the monastic institute she had freely viewed; the real precepts and duties of christianity she had cautiously discriminated from human inventions, and from those external works, on which too many rely; and she had convinced herself that it was preposterous to aim at the high flights of romantic piety, while those virtues are over-looked as infufficient, on which alone the true spirit of the gospel rests. She proposed that her nuns should aspire to perfection, by the practice only of the domestic virtues; that they should strive to be happy in the society of one another; that their tempers should not be soured by corporal macerations, or the infliction of humiliating chastisements; and that enjoying the comforts of a found mind, with a constitution invigorated by proper nourishment, they should be able to improve their understandings by study, to sing the praifes of their maker with alacrity and perfeverance, and to edify their neighbours by a difplay of virtues, which it is equally the duty of every christian citizen to practife.

1

Abeillard undertook to make a very full reply Abeillard's to the two principal questions proposed by answer.

BOOK

Heloisa. He was pleased to find that her mind began to turn from the thoughts, which had oppressed it, and that it would be bent on inquiries, from which improvement and instruction might be drawn, and on which also he himself would have an opportunity of exercifing his authority, and of displaying his erudition. - He first treats of the origin of the female monastic i flitute, which he deduces from the earliest times: it began, he fays, with Chrift, and his immediate fuccessors. He pursues the subject into its various branches, adducing authorities from Pagan, Jewish, and Christian sources, to prove that women, with their virtues, were ever the first favorites of heaven, and that by men they were, at all times, held in the highest estimation. - It is a loose and uninteresting differtation, into which, without order, he feems to have thrown whatever he could collect on the subject. The ladies of the Paraclet might be pleased with the flattering encomium on their fex: in every other view, it has little merit.

On the second part he is even more diffuse: he enumerates the three leading virtues, which belong to the cloister, continence, poverty, and silence, and he dwells on each of them. He then specifies the constitutions, which Heloisa had requested, which are to regulate the internal and external economy of the Paraclet, in the distribution of their

d d

1-

n lf

18 le

ic

9:

te

15

h,

th

of

S. ,

id

ut

ld

et

n

t.

he

ng

e,

he

ch

ay

eir

hours, in the form and quality of their dress, and BOOK in the nature and quantity of their food. There is much good fense in all these arrangements, and had they been delivered in a more simple and didactic style, they would even now be read with pleafure. He shows that indulgence to the weaknesses of human nature, on which the abbess had so strongly infisted, and the perfection he requires is rather to be drawn from an universal moderation and abstemiousness, than from any particular practices of fasting and penitence: on this head, they are to observe the established laws of the church. I am not fufficiently acquainted with the rules of the different monastic orders of women, to say how far these constitutions of Abeillard may depart from the usual form: I believe, however, there is little that is new in them, unless they be compared with those more rigid institutes, which, some years after, the feraphic zeal of other founders introduced into the church.

And here, as far as hiftory informs us, closes the epiftolary correspondence betwixt Abeillard and Heloifa. The good abbot had reason to be fatisfied with the refult of his endeavours; and Heloifa, we may not doubt, from this time, became a happier woman. To reduce into practice the documents, she had received, and to adapt them to the genius and dispositions of the house, over which she presided, would now be her principal care.

v. would engage her attention, and the anxious troubles of her mind, indulged no longer, would give way to better thoughts. — How the reform at St. Gildas went on, we are not told, nor do we read any more of the perfecutions and complaints of their abbot. A great part of his time must have been given to writing, which was chiefly dedicated to the nuns of the Paraclet. I will speak of these works.

Other works of Abeillard.

The first of them seems to have been an address to the Paraclet', in which he exhorts the nuns to the study of the holy scriptures. He speaks much of the learning, of the conduct, and of the example of St. Jerom, who had deemed it no unworthy office to attend to the education of women. The old man had sketched out the first elementary lines for his favorite Paula, and he promifes to become her master and her play-fellow, if necesfary; that he will carry her on his shoulders. that he will help her to form her first words, and that he shall take more glory in it, than did Aristotle in the tutorage of Alexander. Abeillard could not be ashamed to tread in the steps of this great man. - He strongly recommends the study of the Greek and Hebrew languages, as effentially necessary to the due understanding of the facred writers, and he talks much of the great

Op. Abeil. p. 251.

imperfection of all translations. "You, fays he BOOK " to the nuns, are inexcusable, if you neglect to acquire this important learning: you have no " long journeys to make in quest of it, no expenses " to incur. In Heloisa you have a mistres, who " can fuffice for all: virtue she will teach you by a example, and literature by precept. Versed in " Latin, and not unskilled in the Hebrew and " Greek languages, she alone, at this time, feems " to possess that knowledge, which in the blessed " Jerom was fo much extolled." - Happy, he favs is that person, who, turning over the divine volumes, can draw their sense from the purest fource, and who is not necessitated to recur to muddy streams, which are so ill qualified to allay his thirst. But he laments that, with the study of the ancient languages, all knowledge of them had long been loft, excepting what, to the shame of the other fex, still remained with the abbess of the Paraclet. - He concludes this not inelegant address,

1

8

0

h

e

0

ſ-

3,

d

d

d

is

y

ly

d

at

The nuns, as we shall see, were animated by this address: they took the advice of their master; Heloisa showed the way; and they entered on

by again preffing them to the most serious studies;

that this they can do with more eafe than the

monks, because they are less engaged in manual

labor; and he advises them to beware, left the

enemy, in their indolence, or in the weakness of

their fex, lay fnares for their virtue.

BOOK the new career which was opened to them. They studied the learned languages, and they read the scriptures. Enviable would be the conventual life, were it always fo employed! But they found many difficulties, which grew on them as they advanced; (for it is only to the superficial and vain inquirer that the fense of the inspired word is always plain and intelligible, ) and these difficulties they laid before their abbess. Some she could remove: but others, as became her, she acknowledged, lay not within the limits of her humble comprehension. As these impediments multiplied, they were diffurbed, and they purfued their labors with less alacrity. Heloisa then advised them to note down, every day, fuch difficulties as in their reading should occur, and when they rose to any bulk, she promised to send them to Abeillard for his folution. Thus was formed that collection of Problems, which is in the works of Abeillard's:

They are preceded by a preface written by Heloifa, wherein she states the circumstances, I have mentioned, and are forty-two in number: to each problem is immediately subjoined Abeillard's solution. — The questions are proposed in a very succinct and accurate manner, and some of them are such, as have ever given trouble to the most sagacious commentators. The replies are often diffuse and desultory, and seldom seem

<sup>10</sup> Op. Abeil. p. 3844

## ABEILLARD AND HELOISA. 65.

to reach the difficulty: he indulges his taste in BOOK forced and figurative interpretations, and when the problem presses hard has recourse to mystery. His answer to the last difficulty is a casuistical discussion of matters, the like to which, probably, was never laid before a convent of nuns. It is wantonly assumed, as the question related to no such subject: vanity or pruriency of imagination therefore must have suggested the unseemly digression.

The next work I find, is a body of Sermons, on the principal festivals of the year, mostly written for the use of the Paraclet". Heloisa had begged them from him, and for that reason, he fays, he had composed them. " I am not used, " he observes to her, to this style of composition: " I aim at no eloquence, but in plain language " to express my thoughts. And, perhaps, the " more homely this expression be, the better it is " adapted to common understandings: to them " my fimple language may have the recommendation of elegance, and what they conceive most " eafily, they may relish best." - Notwithstanding this humble declaration, I discover no marks of negligence or want of art in the fermons: they are some of his best compositions, though they contain nothing very new or interesting. Nor was it at all necessary, he should have studied any

1

d

Y

d

d

f=

18

ne

er

ts

ed

ed

as

fe

rd

on

10.

by

I

er:

ed

ed

nd

ole

ies em

0

<sup>11</sup> Op. Abeil. p. 729.

V. the Paraclet: the nuns of this house, as already noticed, were singularly learned.

As an additional proof that they were so, it may be observed, that these sermons, designed for their instruction, were written in Latin, which, though at that time more generally understood than at present, had long ceased to be the vulgar language. The ancient Gaulish, or French, as we learn from the monuments of the times, was then in common use. On the sestivals, to which they belonged, these sermons were read publicly in the church of the Paraclet 12.

His treatife against Heresies, which were the errors of the age, is not incurious; as it shows us, not only what those errors were, but likewise points out the doctrine of the church, as believed in the twelfth century. This is an important link in the great chain of tradition, which we hold in our hands, tracing its easy progress from ourselves up to those times, when the principles of christianity were first promulgated. — Abeillard, in this work, briefly states the error, and then combats it by the authorities of revelation. These authorities are not always convincing, but they were the popular arguments of the day. — He seems to have been extremely well versed in scripture-

<sup>12</sup> Præf. Apolog.

V.

learning; which proves that, even in the darkest BOOK ages, those facred volumes were not neglected, and that the Reformation, as is pretended, was not a providential arrangement to refcue them from the difgrace and oblivion, in which they had been funk. We have feen how strongly their study was recommended to the Paraclet, and with what attention they were there read and investigated: or were, Abeillard and his nuns the only biblical students of the age? The contrary is well

Abeillard also wrote an Exposition of the Lord's prayer, which is familiar, concife, and instructive; and another of the Apostle's creed, which has equal merit". It was when he aimed at fuperior learning and allegorical comments, that his writings are unsatisfactory: his genius was naturally clear and penetrating, and left to itself, without all doubt, it would have thrown great light on the abstrusest inquiries: but when the hemisphere is overcast, what eye looks for the brightness of a meridian fun?

But the abbot's very principal work is a Commentary on the epiftle to the Romans, in five books". Contrary to the whimfical tafte of the age, which ran into playful allegories, the author here attaches himself to the literal sense, and by an easy

t

f

-

e

T

e s,

d

ıe

3,

ſe

ed

nk

in

es ti-

nis

ats

ri-

ere

to

re-

<sup>33</sup> Op. p. 59.

Ibid. p. 491.

paraphrase, endeavours to point out the chain of reasoning of the apostle, and the connexion of his discourse. This he has executed very ably. He introduces differtations on the most knotty points of theology, fuch as original fin, free will, grace, and predestination, and he shows at least that he possessed a metaphysical aptitude for the discussion of such matters. There is much erudition throughout the whole commentary, and an extensive knowledge of the writings of the ancient fathers. - To the head of the work is prefixed a short introduction, wherein he treats of the scriptures in general: " And as the " defign of the four gospels, says he, is to a teach those things which every christian must " know, fo were the epiftles written to inculcate " a strict attention and obedience to them: " yet do these also contain some wholesome a documents and advice, which, though they " appertain not to the essence of belief, may

St. Bernard visits the Paraclet. It was about this time, that Bernard of Clairvaux to whose acquaintance I have already introduced the reader, made a visit to the Paraclet.—From the time we left him, newly elected abbot, and growing, by his virtues and his talents, into universal renown, he had been engaged in the

" ferve to develope its tenets, and to embellish

" the christian establishment."

f

A

I

h

of

·k

ne

to

ıst

te

n;

ne

ey

ay

ish

ux

ced

om

ind

nto

the

69

most arduous concerns of Europe. Drawn reluc- BOOK tantly from his cell, he affifted at the council of Troyes, where he received the commission to settle the rule of the military order of Templers, just established.—At Estampes before the king, the great dispute between Innocent and Anacletus, both chosen popes of Rome, was referred to Bernard: he weighed the important matter, and decided in favor of the first, whose election, he said, was canonical. The affembly approved his decision. He then wrote circular letters to many princes and bishops in favor of Innocent. — In 1131 he refused the bishopric of Chalons, and also that of Genoa. Three years after he was in Italy, where he affisted at the council of Pisa, and was the soul of every process: his levee was crowded by bishops, and the whole power of the church feemed vefted in his hands; yet was his humility more tranfcendant than the applause which echoed round him.—Returning from Pifa, by the command of his Holiness, he passed by Milan. The Milanese came out to meet him; they threw themselves at his feet, imploring his benediction; they cut fhreds from his garments, in attestation of his fanctity; and with the loudest acclamations they introduced him into their city. During his flay among them, extraordinary indeed are the miracles, he is faid to have worked in their favor. Every disorder gave way to the efficacy of his

F 3

BOOK prayers. The neighbouring towns and villages were emptied of their inhabitants, and all Lombardy was in motion to fee this man of wonders. The conflant press, which curiofity or devotion thus thickened round him, was too violent to be borne; he refisted their folicitations in vain, and withdrew from the crowd; but he was foon compelled to show himself from the windows to the people, and from thence to give them his benediction .-In the midft of this overpowering tide of plaudits and admiration, Bernard flood confused; he acknowledged his own unworthiness, and the glory of his miracles he gave to God and to the faith of the people. They offered him the archiepifcopal mitre of their city, which was vacant; he refused it, and retired. Soon after we find him at Clairvaux, occupied in building a new monaftery, as the old one was found too fmall to contain the great number of monks, who daily crowded to him ".

What was the motive of his visit to the Paraclet, we are not told. Probably he was curious to see a woman, about whose endowments same spoke so loudly. We know, indeed, that he had been long pressed to go 's; for Heloisa and her nuns could not have heared with indissernce, that so great a treasure resided, not many miles from

<sup>25</sup> Fleury, vol. xiv. 16 Op. p. 244.

their convent. They received him as an angel BOOK from heaven. He admired the regularity of their discipline, and he was charmed with the deportment and learned conversation of the abbess and her fifters. With an engaging attention he read and approved the rules of their institute; and more than once he publicly preached to them, with that unction and imposing eloquence, which were fo much his own. Never was there a facred orator, who, by a foft manner, a pathetic diction, and a gentle flow of glowing ideas, understood fo well every approach to the heart. But he was not of a temper to approve, where he faw cause for reprehension; and the most trisling deviation from the established forms of the church was enough to excite his censure. He observed, that, in the Lord's prayer, instead of daily bread, they used the word supersubstantial. The novelty flruck him, and he inquired by what authority it had been introduced? The abbess informed him, that Abeillard the founder of their house, and their guide in religion, had so permitted it. - The reader will recollect that Bernard, long before, had been irritated against the abbot of St. Gildas: he therefore, on this occasion, treated his name with some asperity, and he told Heloifa, that the innovation was very cenfurable.

Not long after, fome very preffing bufiness

V.

BOOK obliged Abeillard to go over to the Paraclet ". He was told with much exultation of the vifiter they had had; that they had impatiently longed to fee him; that he was a divine man; and that when he had spoken to them on the truths of religion, they had heared, they thought, the voice of an angel 18. Such warm encomiums would not be fo pleafing, probably, to the ears of Abeillard. The abbess had equally admired the man of God; but she was not blind in her admiration, nor could she facrifice an old friend to the imposing character of the young abbot of Clairvaux. In conversing therefore with Abeillard she, one day, with some address, told him of the remark, Bernard had made, on their use of the word fuperfubfiantial, and she added: " The " holy man is much your admirer; he praised "your institute, and he applauded the discipline " of our convent: that one thing only he could " not approve, and he charged you with in-"novation."-Abeillard was little pleased with the flattery, as he faw it proceeded from the

Returned into Britany, he had foon prepared a letter for the abbot of Clairvaux. " Having "heared at the Paraclet, fays he, that you had

conciliating mind of Heloifa; but the censure stung him, and he thought he could be revenged.

<sup>27</sup> Op. p. 244. 18 Ibid.

Y.

cenfured me, it was natural I should be an- BOOK " xious to apologize for my conduct: it is your " displeasure, which I should be more forry to " incur, than that of all the rest of mankind."-He then shows, that the Lord's prayer is only to be found in the two gospels of Matthew and Luke: that Matthew received his from the mouth of his mafter Chrift, and that Luke was only instructed by St. Paul, who could know nothing, but by report, of the fubftance of our Saviour's discourses; consequently the prayer of the former, which was in itself more full and perfect, was to be preferred to that of Luke. - He lays before him the two prayers, the one composed of feven, the other of five, petitions; and he observes, that it was the superior excellence of the one, which had given it the preference in the public fervice of the church. " How then has it happened, " continues Abeillard, that into the prayer of " Matthew should have been foisted the word daily " of Luke, when its own supersubstantial was more " expressive and apposite? It is no small pre-"fumption, it feems, thus to alter the expression " of an apostle, as if he did not himself sufficiently " understand the import of words."-He adduces the authority of the Greek church, which adheres to the reading of Matthew, though Luke wrote his gofpel in their own language .- " If I am not egregiously

BOOK V.

"mistaken then, says he, rather accuse me of any thing, than of innovation or arrogance in this business; me, who scrupulously chuse to follow the language of Christ and his apostle, and the evident testimony of the Greek church."—
But observe, he goes on, I lay no commands on any one; I even persuade no one, to follow me, and to depart from the vulgar practice.
Let each one rest on his own judgment. This only is my advice, that he be cautious not to prefer forms to reason, and practice to venerable truth."

Having proceeded thus far in his own vindication, which is manly and perfuafive, he fuddenly turns on his adverfary, and attacks him with spirit: " And is it not this same reason, says he, of which " you yourselves are so vehemently enamoured, " as to dare to support it against the universal " practice of the church? You are but men of " yesterday; yet glorying in the novelty of your " order, you have made decrees, by which the " divine fervice is to be performed among you, a differently from the ancient, and all the modern, " usages of monks and churchmen. Nor in this " do you deem yourselves reprehensible. It may " be a fingularity, or a deviation from antiquity, " you allow; but it accords with reason and the " tenor of your institute; and while this is so, " little do you value the astonishment, or the

" murmurs, of discontented spectators." - He BOOK enumerates a long lift of the peculiarities, observed by the Cifterian monks in their church-fervice, which he treats as abfurdities, or at best as puerile fingularities, to which, however, they profess the warmest attachment, and in which he is not disposed to give them the smallest disturbance. Variation, he observes, has ever been allowed in language and in general discipline; and he instances many practices which then prevailed, all which were permitted, provided only the facred integrity of faith were not violated. It is here that unity must be fixed. This variety, he thinks, in the modes of worshipping our maker, has its advantages; and that too fervile an uniformity may fometimes generate difgust. For this, in part, it was that the religion of Christ was preached in the languages of all nations; and he himfelf delivered the prayer in question, in two distinct forms, that different dispositions might find their satisfaction in them: but let us repeat it, fays he, in the exact words of its august founder. He concludes: "Let each " one, as I faid before, be guided by his own " judgment, and pray as he likes it best. I advise " no one to follow me; he may vary the " words of Christ at will; but it shall be my " endeavour to keep them and their genuine " fense as unchanged as may be".

<sup>19</sup> Op. p. 250

There is much good fense in these observations; and I have been more particular in recounting the transaction, as it may serve hereaster to account more fully for the violent conduct of Bernard towards the unfortunate abbot of St. Gildas. How he received this spirited address, we know not; but even saints, we have reason to think, are sometimes subject to the common feelings of human nature.

END OF THE FIFTH BOOK.

# HISTORY

## OF THE LIVES OF

## ABEILLARD and HELOISA.

## BOOK VI.

William of St. Thierry accuses Abeillard — The abbot of Clairvaux engages in the quarrel — The council of Sens — Sentence against Abeillard — He sets out for Rome — Is entertained at Cluni, and consents to remain there — Arnold of Brescia — Tanchelm of Antwerp — Henry de Bruys.

## Anno, 1139.

ALMOST twenty years had now elapsed, since BOOK Abeillard, in the council of Soissons, had been VI. compelled, unheared, to throw his work on the Trinity into the slames. I related the event in all its circumstances. From that time he had continued to teach, and he had published different works. They were received with approbation, and were very generally read. So arbitrary had been judged

BOOK the behaviour of the fynod towards him, that it VI. had left no stigma on his reputation; even the obnoxious work itself make its own way, unopposed, and seemed to promise an increase of same to its author.

William of St. Thierry accufes Abeillard, The holy Bernard had a friend, whom he much esteemed, William, abbot of St. Thierry, in the neighbourhood of Reims. Whether William had heared of the sharp letter, which Abeillard had lately addressed to the abbot of Clairvaux, or was jealous of the applause which followed his writings, or, poring with a malignant eye over his works, he thought he had discovered errors, which it was his duty to reveal; whatever might be his motive, he determined again to blow the embers, and to revive a controversy, which the lapse of years had extinguished. — There are men, to whom orthodoxy is a word so imposing, that to support it they can adopt measures, which religion, reason, and honor must ever view with disgust.

Geoffrey, bishop of Chartres, and Bernard of Clairvaux, were the two, whose zeal if he could rouse, William doubted not, but importance would be given to his undertaking. Geoffrey, it may be remembered, was the learned and benevolent prelate who, at the council of Soissons, had showed himself so well affected to the persecuted

Vie d'Abeil. p. 80.

Abeillard. Why he, on this occasion was fixed BOOK or, is uncertain; possibly the abbot of St. Thierry, who knew how highly his abilities were rated in the French church, might be ignorant of his personal attachments. Be this as it may; he drew up a very acrimonious and pointed letter, which he addressed to the venerable persons, just mentioned. "Peter Abeillard, fays he, again begins to " teach his novelties and to write them: his works " cross the seas, nor are the Alps any obstacle to " their progress: his wild opinions deluge the " provinces; they are publicly taught, and as " publicly defended: it is even faid, that they have " found admirers in the court itself of Rome. I " must therefore be open with you: your filence " is dangerous to yourselves, and it is dangerous " to the church of God. - Very lately a work of " this man fell into my hands: it was entitled " the Theology of Abeillard. I confess, the words " excited my curiofity; I read it; and as many " things therein struck me, I noted them down, " with the reasons why I did so. These remarks "I now fend you, and with them the book " itself. Form your own judgments. It is you " only whom I can with propriety address on " this occasion. He fears you. But if you remain " filent, whom will he fear? And, if he fear no one, " what shall stem the torrent of his tongue? Abeillard " was once my friend; but when the facred deposit

WI. " of faith is exposed to danger, the name of wi. " friend or parent weighs no longer with me'." — He then enumerates the thirteen propositions, which he had extracted from the works of Abeillard, and which he pronounces to be thirteen heresies.

The bishop of Chartres returned no answer to this letter; but Bernard replied in a manner which could not be very satisfactory to the meddling accuser. "I applaud your zeal, said he: but you "know, how little, in matters of this delicate nature, I rely on my own judgment. It will be proper that we proceed with caution: let us meet, and discuss the business together. But even this, on account of the holy time of lent, cannot be done as yet. Excuse, I beg you, this delay, which is the more necessary, as till now I have been a stranger to almost every thing you have communicated to me."

Diffatisfied with this cold reply, and to urge the bufiness more rapidly forward, William composed a more voluminous work on the subject, in which he placed his charges in a stronger light, marked more emphatically the errors of Abeillard, and seemed to triumph in a surer conquest. This likewise he sent to Bernard and the bishop. So earnest indeed was he become in the prosecution,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Ep. Bern. n. 326.

## ABEILLARD AND HELOISA. 81

that to carry it on with more expedition, he BOOK reluctantly fuspended a large comment on the canticles of Salomon, in which the pious affections of his heart were very warmly engaged '.

Unfortunately for Abeillard, just at this critical moment, died the bishop of Chartres. He was his friend; and as his learning and his virtues were much looked up to, probably he would have had it in his power to check the flagrant zeal of his adverfaries.

The abbot of Clairvaux perufed the new The abbottof treatife, which had been fent him; and though he engages in feems to have been perfuaded that the charges the quarrel. against Abeillard were well founded, yet, wishing rather to reclaim than to irritate him, he purposed to meet him, and amicably to canvass the matter in a private interview. This was benevolent and ingenuous; but it could not be that their meeting should produce any permanent good. The minds of both had been exulcerated; nor were their natural dispositions much formed to coalefce. They met, however. Abeillard, now in years, fore from ill usage, and confident in the powers of his learning, would view the young abbot as an officious intruder, who came, not fo much to conciliate, or to feek for information, as to arraign authoritatively his conduct, and to weigh his opinions in the fcale of prejudice:

Vie d'Abeil. p. 83.

BOOR and when he recollected Soiffons, and the judgement there passed, though arbitrarily, on his works, he would confider the present step as an attempt malevolently aimed at his repose. -Bernard declard the motives which had brought him, and he recapitulated, with some diffidence, the lift of errors with which he had been charged: thele errors he entreated him to retract, and then he promifed, that all his influence should be used to mitigate the feverity of any fentence, which his judges might be disposed to pronounce. - Abeillard, with a haughtiness, which was not misplaced, heared the remonstrance, and withdrew in filent contempt. The faint therefore called on some of his friends, and with them a fecond time waited on the abbot of St. Gildas. It was in vain: they found him equally untractable, and in a peremptory tone he told them, that they were free to take their own measures, and that he should take his .

The author of Bernard's life relates this transaction very differently: he says, that Abeillard was so affected by the manner, in which his master addressed him, that he promised to correct his errors, and to conform to his will in all things: but that, no sooner were they parted, than, instigated by the bad advice of his friends, and consident of his learning, he receded from his purpose, and again denounced desiance.

<sup>5</sup> Ep. Bern. 337.

Lib. iii. c. s.

The abbot of Clairvaux, disappointed by the BOOK bad fuccess of his interview, provoked by the behaviour of Abeillard, and warmed by an impetuous zeal, (which in holy men is the more dangerous, because it is believed to be suggested by the spirit of God,) resolved, as moderation had miscarried, that violence should try its efficacy: he would exert against the weak man every nerve of that unbounded influence, which the fame of his fanctity; his eloquence, and his extensive connexions in the world, had given him. He wrote to Innocent the pope, and to the Roman prelates, charging Abeillard with every herefy, which hitherto had disfigured the church of God, and with every bad defign, which could animate the breaft of the most profligate mortal.

To the Cardinal Guido, who had been the scholar of Abeillard, and whose partiality for his old master he apprehended might stand in the way of his designs, he says: "I should indeed do you "an injury, were I to imagine that your regard for any one could go so far, as to raise in your breast an esteem for his errors. Such love is "earthly, it is brutal, and diabolical, equally pernicious to both parties.—Abeillard introduces into his writings a profane novelty of ideas and of language: he discourses on faith to overthrow its mysteries, and the words of the gospel he adopts to impugn its tenets. He, forsooth,

BOOK VI. "fees nothing obscurely, his eye penetrates the darkest secrets: it would be well, however, if he knew himself. I accuse him not before the heavenly father: his own book is his accuser. When he speaks of the Trinity, we hear Arius; when of grace, Pelagius; and when of the person of Christ, Nestorius?."

To another Cardinal he uses the same intemperate language; "Abeillard, he fays, is a monk without a " rule, is a superior without care, nor has discipline " or order the least check over him. He is a man " ever varying from himself; interiorly a Herod, " exteriorly a Baptist: he is ambiguous as a riddle, " possessing nothing of a monk, but the name and " the habit. But what is this to me? Each one must " answer for himself. One thing there is, which I " cannot diffemble; it appertains to all who love " the name of Christ. He proclaims iniquity in the " ftreets; he corrupts the integrity of faith, and the " purity of the church. Disputing and writing on " faith, on the facraments, and on the Trinity, he " overleaps the bounds which our fathers placed: " as he wills, he changes, he multiplies, and he " diminishes. In his works and actions he proves " himself the fabricator of lies, and the worshipper " of false doctrines: he is a heretic not in error " only, but in obstinacy and in the defence of " error. He knows all things in heaven and on

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Bern. Ep. 331.

VI.

" earth, fave only himself. Before the legate of BOOK " the Roman fee, with his work he was con-" demned at Soiffons. But as if that fentence " were not enough, again he exposes himself to " censure, and the last error becomes worse than " the former. Secure, however, he thinks him-" felf, because he can boast that Cardinals and " Roman prelates have been his scholars; them, " whom he should have feared as his judges, he " dares to call the protectors of his past and

The same means of defamation he used at home. decrying the principles and person of Abeillard, and holding up both to the ridicule and deteftation of the whole French church .

" prefent errors "."

Upon what principles of morality or honor this conduct of Bernard can be justified, I know not. Had Abeillard been guilty of more errors than were laid to his charge, and had his behaviour been reprehenfible as he described it: still is the worst enemy of God or man to be treated with language fo foul, fo infulting, and fo unchristian? But Abeillard, in truth, was not guilty of a fingle error, nor was he obstinate in defending a fingle opinion, and the universal tenor of his life was religious, penitential, and exemplary.

The abbot of St. Gildas could not long be ignorant of these violent proceedings of his

Bern. Ep. 336. Ep. 337.

VI.

BOOK enemy, (for they were echoed through every province, and from kingdom to kingdom,) and he faw the necessity of opposing some obstacle to their further fpread. Should he be longer filent, there was an end of his reputation for ever, nor would his person be hardly secure within the walls of his own convent. But what ground could he take that would be tenable against the commanding powers of the abbot, of Clairvaux? He could call to his affistance all the interest of the earth, and the angels of heaven were obedient to his beck. However, innocent, he knew, he was, and he would try once more what those arms could do, with which formerly, in the schools of Paris, he had fought and conquered. He recollected that Samfon, the flout Nazarean, though forlorn, and old, and furrounded by his enemies, was not deferted by his native firength, and that even when he fell he triumphed.

At Sens, an archiepifcopal city in Champagne, was to be performed the ceremony of the translation of a faint's body into the cathedral-church. To grace the folemn pageant, all the bishops of the diocele with their clergy were to assemble; as likewife those from the neighbouring district of Reims. The king also, it was faid, would honor the meeting with his presence. - Abeillard judged this might be a proper occasion for the public justification of his principles, and that from hence

the kingdom might foon learn, that he was orthodox in his opinions, and irreproachable in his conduct:

nor did he despair of being able to draw down fome confusion on his enemies. He therefore waited on the archbishop of Sens; he laid before him the motives of his journey, and he implored his pro
"tection. "The abbot of Clairvaux, said he,

"declaims against my writings: I am ready to defend them in public assembly, and I request that he be cited to appear before you. I will meet him." The archbishop could but approve of a proposal which was ingenuous and equitable, and he assured Abeillard that, as far as it lay in his power, justice should be done him '. Nor is it improbable,

that he might be pleased with the prospect of an important controversy, which would give some relief to the main ceremony, and in which he, with his suffragan bishops, should six as judges.

Agreeably to his defign, he wrote to St. Bernard, acquainting him of Abeillard's complaint and challenge, and naming the day on which he should expect to see him at Sens. The good abbot resused to appear, and he grounded his resusal on this reasoning: that he was young and inexperienced in controversy, and that Abeillard had been a trained soldier from his cradle; that the tenets of faith, which were sounded on the infallible word of God, ought not, in his opinion, to

<sup>1</sup>º Fleury, vol. xiv.

воок VI. be fubmitted to human investigation; that his own writings were sufficient to condemm him; and that it was the duty of bishops, and not his concern, to pronounce on matters of belief.

Fixed in the same sentiments, he addressed the bishops who were assembling at Sens. "I am "challenged, as you have heard, says he, to a "public disputation: the servant of God should "rather bear all patiently, than contend. Were "the cause my own, I might place considence perhaps in your protection: but it is yours; I "therefore entreat and admonish you, to show yourselves the friends of Christ in the day of need.—Be not surprised, that thus suddenly you are called upon: it has been the wily artisce of the enemy, that he might attack you unfreprepared, and thus more easily force you into terms "."

There was a pufillanimity and an affectation of moderation in this behaviour of Bernard. He had himfelf been the aggressor; and if he was not prepared to meet the man he had injured and insulted, it only proves, that he had precipitately engaged in a business, which it would have become him to have weighed more maturely. But he had vainly expected, it seems, that the sound of his name would have over-awed the abbot of St. Gildas, and that he should have been able,

<sup>11</sup> Bern. Ep. 189. 12 Ep. 187.

without the noise of controversy, to have effected BOOK his condemnation.

Abeillard was elated by the timid conduct of his adverfary: his reluctance he could only ascribe to the conscious apprehension of a defeat; he talked loud, he called on his friends, and he assembled his admirers. To those who were distant from him he communicated, with exultation, the joyful news; nor, in his letters, did he treat with much tenderness the abbot of Clairvaux. If he will dare to meet me, said he, he shall know that I am prepared to answer to his charges.—
The reader must observe, that this account is taken from the pen of Bernard.

"The boafting of Abeillard, fays the faint, was "foon public, nor could I be ignorant of it. At "first I dissembled, for by popular clamor I "was but little moved. My friends were urgent, "and I gave way, though with tears, to their advice: they saw the preparations which were making as for a public spectacle, and they feared lest by my absence the people might be "injured, and the enemy triumph. His errors also, they said, would only gain strength, if no one should be present to answer or to oppose them '." — He set out. The discouraging restection hung upon his mind, that he was unprepared for, and unequal to, the contest:

<sup>13</sup> Ep. 189. 16 Ibid.

FOOK but in the words of the gospel he found convi. solution; "Be not thoughtful, how or what to
"speak, for at that same hour shall be given you
"what you are to speak." Thus pensively
musing he travelled on, and arrived, when he
was little expected, on the appointed day, at
Sens.

The council of Sens.

The affembly opened with great splendor. Lewis the young, king of France, was there, with his nobles; as were William count of Nevers, and Theobald count of Champagne. The clergy were numerous: the archbishop of Sens with his suffragan bishops, and Samson of Reims, with the prelates of his diocese. Many abbots with their monks, professors from the schools, and the learned men of the kingdom, were present. The first day was spent in the ceremony of translating the relics, for which the meeting had been principally convened; and it was done with uncommon pomp and magnificence. The presence of the king gave a brilliancy to every ceremony.

The gorgeous day was over, and the next rofe with unufual expectation. The members of the affembly took their feats; king, lords, prelates, and commons. The two abbots entered, followed by their friends, and walked to their respective places. Every eye was on them. A dead filence prevailed. The abbot of Clairvaux rose from his seat:

Fleury, vol. xiv.

his attitude spoke diffidence, and his countenance BOOK was humble. " I am no accuser of this man, " faid he, let his own works fpeak against him. " Here they are, and these are the propositions " extracted from them. Let him deny they are " his; or condemn them, if they be erroneous; " or let him answer to the objections I shall urge " against them."-He then delivered the charges into the hands of the Promoter, to be distinctly read.

He began to read, and the council listened with attention: but he had not advanced far, when he was interrupted by the rifing of Abeillard. The step was irregular; out of respect, however, to his character, they showed a readiness to hear him.—I appeal to Rome, faid he, and stept forward to quit the affembly.-A general furprise struck every countenance; they could hardly give credit to their ears: but when the murmur had subsided. Bernard advanced and spoke. " Abeillard, said "he, do you fear for your person? You have " permission to speak freely and in full security: " no fentence shall be pronounced against you."-The remonstrance was without effect. " I have " appealed to the Roman fee," replied he, and instantly withdrew.

Writers have been much puzzled to account for this extraordinary behaviour of Abeillard. The admirers of Bernard fay, that he was fo ftruck VI.

BOOK VI.

by the more than human appearance of the faint, as to lose his recollection and all presence of mind ".- It is the opinion of others that, when he confidered the dispositions of his judges, men partially attached to his accuser, he deemed it more prudent to refer his cause to a higher court, where he knew he had friends, and should find protection 17. Of this however he might have been aware, before he challenged Bernard to meet him at Sens, and provoked a public contest. Others relate that, he was apprehensive of a populer tumult, which might endanger his life, and faw no better means of escaping than by appealing to Rome ".-In this last account, I believe, there may be truth. It accords with the timid heart of Abeillard; and befides, from the general complexion of the affembly, of which he could not competently judge, till his own eyes had witneffed it, there might be ferious reason to fear that justice would not be done The treatment he had experienced from the council of Soissons, would now rife, in full force, upon his recollection; and when he beheld with what marks of religious veneration the person of Bernard was treated, and his words received, could he expect an impartial hearing? Conscious, however, as he was of his own innocence, had not his heart been timid as the hare's, he might have met,

<sup>&</sup>quot;Godef. in vita Bern. l. iii. "Bern. Ep. ad Innocen.

<sup>11</sup> Otho. de geft. Frid.

it feems, the ill-founded charges of his anta- BOOR gonist, might have spoken, as he was so able, in his own defence, and have waited, with manliness, the sentence of the council.

VI.

The proceedings of the affembly were much disconcerted by the appeal of Abeillard. It was informal, they knew, as he had voluntarily fubmitted himself to their cognizance; but he had now referred his cause to the supreme court of judicature. After some debate, in which the opinions were much divided, it was finally agreed that, out of respect to Rome, the person of Abeillard should be spared, but that judgment should be pronounced on his opinions. The propofitions, which Bernard had prefented, were then read and examined: he himfelf fpoke largely and with vehemence on the subject, and he proved, to the conviction of the meeting, from the authorities of the scriptures and of the ancient fathers, that they were not only false, but heretical. As fuch they were condemned. - The next step was to inform the bishop of Rome of their proceedings, to request the confirmation of their fentence, and to take every possible precaution that Abeillard should not find that support in Italy, on which he feemed to rely. This commission was intrufted to the abbot of Clairvaux 19.

He entered with alacrity into the views of the

<sup>19</sup> Fleury, vol. xiv.

BOOK council, and it is clear that they chose an able agent. Nothing can be more artful, more fevere, or more abusive, than the letters he wrote, on this occasion, to Rome. He wrote to his Holiness in the name of the archbishop of Sens and his fuffragans, and in the name of the archbishop of Reims and the three prelates who accompanied him. In the first he details the transaction of the assembly; and he entreats him to impose filence on Abeillard, to forbid him either to teach or to write in future, and condemn his works; that by fo doing he will draw the thorns out of the field of the church. and that it will again flourish and bear fruit. -The fecond is less prolix, and more violent. He treats Abeillard as a monster swelling with pride, who marches with an erect countenance, as if nothing were hidden from him, who pretends to penetrate the mysteries of faith, while, all he builds up, is a pile of errors. " The " boafting of the man, he fays, is the more a vain-glorious, because his book has found a readers in the Roman court. This has con-" firmed, and given energy to his rage. - We " have proceeded in the business as far as it was expedient: it remains with you, most, " holy Father, to take care that, in your day " the beauty of the church be defiled by no a stain of heretical depravity."

In his own name he then addresses the pontiff BOOK in two different letters. In the first he specifies the principal errors ascribed to Abeillard, and he refutes them. There is some address and logical acuteness in this attempt, with a large portion of declamation and of malevolent reflections. -The fecond is more reprehensible. He wishes his own fpeedy diffolution, on account of the evils which, on all fides, threaten. He had hoped, after the suppression of the late schism, caufed by Peter de Leon, to have reposed from his labors; but that now as dangerous a fform was gathered round him. A new gospel, he says; has been forged for the christian people; and a new faith proposed to their belief: Abeillard of France has beckoned to the Italian, Arnold of Brescia, and they have come forward, in strict confederacy, to affail, with all their might, the religion of Christ. In their dress and diet they support the affectation of piety, and to deceive more eafily, transform themselves into angels of light. He concludes: "You who have fucceed-" ed to the chair of Peter must now consider. " whether he who attacks the faith of that " apostle, should find refuge in his see. Weigh your " fituation. Why were you raifed over states and " kingdoms, unless to root out, to destroy, to build " up, and to plant? Schism you have extinguished: " with the fame arm, now crush these rising

VI.

" herefies, and your crown will be complet-" ed 20 " VI.

> It feems more probable that the other letters, which I mentioned as written to the Roman prelates before the council of Sens. should rather be referred to this period. The reader may recur to the extracts I gave, and to the reflections which accompanied them.

> Thus did Bernard, true to his own character and to the views of the affembly, aim to vilify and render odious to the Roman court the name and principles of the man, who had appealed to its equity, and who was foon in perfon to appear before it. So intolerant, and fo imposing even on the best minds, is religious zeal, when once it has passed those limits, which reason, humanity, and the gospel have opposed to its baneful fpread!

against Abeillard.

The fentence The pope, roused by these strong exposulations, waited not for the arrival of Abeillard, but pronounced a definitive fentence on his works and person. Having remarked that, it is never allowed to bring those matters again into discussion, which have once been decided in councils, he adds, "With the advice of the bishops and " cardinals of our court, we have condemned the " articles, which were fent to us, and all the false 66 opinions of Peter Abeillard together with their

<sup>2</sup>º Ep. 189.

"author; and as a heretic we have imposed perpetual silence on him. We think also that all
his followers and the abettors of his errors,
flould be cut off from the communion of the
faithful."—This was accompanied by another
fentence, addressed to the two archbishops: "We
command you to confine, separately, in such
monasteries, as you may deem best, Peter Abeillard and Arnold of Brescia, contrivers of erroneous doctrine, and impugners of the catholic
faith, and to burn their works, wherever they
may he found."

How arbitrary are fuch proceedings! To condemn opinions, which the council of Sens had previously condemned, and which came before him in a form so obnoxious, might have been allowed to the Roman pontist; but to censure the person of a man, who would soon be at his bar; and to condemn writings which he had never seen, was surely an unwarrantable stretch of ecclesiastical despotism:

Minutely to state the errors, of which the abbot of St. Gildas was accused, would be a useless and uninteresting labor. They were reduced to sourteen: — That there are degrees in the Trinity; that the Holy Ghost is not consubstantial with the Father and the Son; that the devil had never any power over man, and that Jesus Christ became

Fleury, vol. xiv. p. 556.

man not to redeem, but to instruct us by his words BOOK and example, and that he fuffered and died to VI. manifest his love for man; that the Holy Ghost is the foul of the world; that Jefus Christ God and man, is not properly God; that we can will and do good by our own free will, without the help of grace; that in the facrament of the Lord's supper the accidents of bread remain in the air; that the punishment, not the guilt, of original sin, is derived from Adam; that there is no fin, unless the finner give his confent, and contemn God; that concupiscence, delight, and ignorance are the cause of no sin; that the suggestions of the devil are raifed in man phyfically, by the contact of ftones, plants, and other things, of which he knows the efficacy: that faith is the opinion or judgment we form of things invisible; that God can only do

Such were these famous errors. Some of them might be contained in the expressions of Abeillard, and these he wished to explain; but the greatest part were the evident misconceptions of his adversaries. In his works might often be found uncommon language, and some extraordinary opinions: heterodoxy there was none, if the views and real sentiments of the author had been candidly weighed. But nothing, it has been observed, is so

what he has done, and will do; that Jesus did not

descend into hell ".

<sup>33</sup> Nat. Alex. fæc. xii.

easy, as to descry errors where you wish to find BOOR them; and this will ever be, in the works and opinions of those, who may only feem to diffent from the multitude.

VI.

Berengarius, a scholar of Abeillard, a young man of fome wit and learning, but petulant, abusive, and vain, wrote in defence of his master. His invective against Bernard is frothy and contemptible; and the fathers of the council of Sens he describes, as over-powered by wine and sleep. while they pronounced fentence on the supposed errors of Abeillard ".

The abbot of St. Gildas having precipitately He fets out retired from the council, did not immediately quit for Rome. the neigbourhood of Sens. He waited for the refult of their deliberations, which was foon notified to him: and now he faw the necessity of instantly beginning his journey. The inveterate spirit of his enemies, which had prompted them to act for harfuly, would not defift, he might well know, in the first stage of their profecution: their complaints and accufations might reach Rome before him. - Not much preparation was necessary; but old as he now was, having entered on his fixtyfirst year, and infirm, and afflicted, it was an arduous and irkfome undertaking. On France,

where he had fuffered much, he could turn his

<sup>25</sup> Abeil. Op. p. 302.

BOOK

back without reluctance, and he flattered himself that Italy might be more propitious to his name. Friends, at least, he knew, he had in the Roman court; and there might be some consolation in the thought, that his eyes would soon behold the capital of the christian world.

Revolving in his mind the various events of an unhappy life, and dubious what might be the issue of his present enterprise, he journeyed slowly on. After some days, though he had made but little of his way, he felt his strength exhausted, and foon he was fenfible that he must look for some hospitable roof, under which to repose his weary limbs. But could fuch a roof be found where the name of his adverfary was fo highly venerated? He recollected that Cluni, a celebrated monastery on the confines of Burgundy, was not very distant, and that Peter Maurice, to whom the appellation of venerable had been given, was abbot. He knew him not personally, but to his character he was no stranger. Peter was an honest man, his benevolence was proverbial, and he had a heart which could feel for the diffresses of his brother. To ask for refreshment and a few days rest from such a man, could hardly give pain to a disposition the most falsly delicate. Abeillard redoubled his steps. and, without hesitation, entered the convent of Cluni ".

<sup>20</sup> Ep. Pet. Ven. p. 335.

## ABEILLARD AND HELOISA. 101

VI.

He was met by the good abbot. - "My name, BOOK " faid the traveller, is Peter Abeillard: I found " your gates open, and I entered: I am in " diffress." - The venerable man would hear no " more; it was not a moment for inquiries; and from the mention of his name he knew the respect that was due to the ftranger. He led him to his apartments: whatever his fituation demanded was instantly provided; and Abeillard blessed the kind ftar which had conducted him to Cluni. In the countenance and behaviour of his generous protector he read more goodness than even fame had reported of him.

When repose, but more than that, the friendly reception he had met with, had somewhat refreshed the forlorn traveller, Peter, the next morning, waited on him. "I am happy, faid he, taking " Abeillard by the hand, to possess within these " walls a man; of whose abilities and virtues I " have long heared fo much: but tell me; from " whence come you, and whither are you " going?" - " I come, replied Abeillard, from \* Sens: a council, as you may know, has been " celebrated in that city: I have been charged " before it with opinions, which I never held: those " opinions they have condemned as heretical; " and I have appealed to Rome. To Rome there-" fore I am now going". - He then added many

<sup>25</sup> Ep. Pet. Ven. p. 335.

VI.

ook other circumstances, informing him who had been his principal adversaries, and how cruelly he had been treated by them. - "I applaud your " defign, observed the abbot of Cluni: Rome is " the afylum of the oppressed, and you do well " to recur to its justice. Fear not that your grie-" vances will not be heared, and be redreffed: " the stranger and the barbarian have found relief "there."-He requested, however, that he would not be precipitate; that he would take time to recruit his strength and spirits at Cluni; that he himself would consider, whether any other more efficacious measure could be adopted; and that his best endeavours should be exerted to serve him.

Abeillard acquiesced: the benevolent and perfualive manner of Peter was irrelistible; and belides, how pleafing to his troubled mind would be the attention of the monks of Cluni, the friendship of their abbot, and the view of that content, harmony, and religious discipline which everywhere prevailed! The fight of those magnificent buildings, and of its august temple, would, moreover, diffuse a solemn stillness in his breast.-Cluni, at this time, after Mount Cassino in Italy, might be regarded as the most splendid monastery in the christian world. Its revenues were vast, and its edifices had the appearance of a well-built city. Three crowned heads, with their respective

## ABEILLARD AND HELOISA. 103

courts, once lodged within the precincts, without BOOK moving a fingle monk from his apartments. A long fuccession of abbots, for more than two hundred years, eminent for their virtue and their learning, had given celebrity to its name. Of these Peter Maurice was the last, but he was not the least in merit, or in the estimation of an admiring public. The monks, whose number often exceeded two hundred, were not less worthy, less religious, or less learned, than had been their fuperiors .- All these were circumstances of peculiar notice, and no mind could contemplate them with indifference.

In this charming fituation, and in this fociety, Is entertain-Abeillard began to feel his mind grow lighter. and confents He conversed with the monks, and he admired to remain them: they were delighted by his exemplary deportment, his unaffected piety, his engaging manners, and his profound erudition. With the abbot he spent many hours: they discoursed on literary fubjects, on the flate of religion, and on the general complexion of the times. Abeillard related many events of his life; but they were all fad and forrowful. To these Peter could oppose the brilliant feries of his own years, which had been ferene and prosperous. He did it without exultation, to cheer the drooping spirits of his friend, and

<sup>26</sup> Fleury, vol. xiv.

he faid, in Auvergne, and descended from the ancient family of Maurice or Montboissier; that when very young, agreeably to the wishes of his parents, who had devoted him to God, he had entered into the house of Cluni; that soon after he was promoted to the priory of Vezelay; and that, before he had reached his thirtieth year, he had heen made abbot and general of his order. Far above his merit, he said, were these honors; but Rome had overlooked his imperfections, and his brethren had been indulgent to his weaknesses.

He related to him the extraordinary life and character of Pontius, his predecessor, from whom he had experienced a very fingular opposition. He had been chosen the seventh abbot of Cluni, with very general approbation, and for some years had governed his order with a becoming moderation and wifdom. But he was a man of violent passions, vain, arrogant, presumptuous, and power did but ferve to give them a greater energy. By degrees, the good-will of his monks was alienated from him: they charged him with many mifdemeanors; that in his conduct there was an indecent levity, that he difregarded the advice of wife counsellors, and that he diffipated, in vain parade and feafting, the income of his monastery. These complaints were carried to the ears of the pontiff Callixtus. Pontius was irritated; but he turned

his rage against himself: he went to Rome, and BOOD petitioned to be released, from his office. The pope consented. Thus free to chuse a new profession, he put on the pilgrim's habit, and travelled to Jerusalem, firmly resolved, as he told his friends, there to end his days. He had been thirteen years abbot of Cluni.

Hardly had I been three years in office, continued Peter, when my predecessor, disgusted with Palestine, returned, through Italy, into France. His partifans received him cordially, and they spoke, in the highest strain, of the fanctity of his life: he wore iron hoops round his arms, they faid; ate nothing, prayed incessantly, and that the foulest diforders vanished at his touch. I was then absent from Cluni, on some business of my order, in Aquitaine. Pontius for some time dissembled; he feemed unwilling to go to Cluni, but infenfibly he approached it; and collecting round him fome renegade monks and a few armed men, on a fudden he appeared before the gates. Bernard the prior and his monks were foon dispersed, and Pontius entered the convent at the head of his followers.

Of the few, whom he found within the walls, fome he compelled by threats or torments, to fwear obedience to him, and the refractory he expelled or threw into prison. The crosses, chalices, and every thing that was valuable, he melted down

BOOK

VI.

to pay his foldiers, and to enrich his dependants. Nor would this fatisfy him: he marched out at the head of armed parties against the cassles and strong places belonging to the monastery, and the whole country he laid waste by fire and sword. For more than half a year did these devastations last; while Bernard and his faithful associates made the best desence they could, and intrepidly withstood the attacks and stratagems of the enemy.

I remained in Aquitaine. My presence, I thought, would only have increased the flame, and I was, indeed, little disposed, as I was little qualified, to make head against the martial and enterprising Pontius. Soon after, a terrible anathema was pronounced against him by Rome; nevertheless, both parties were cited before that tribunal. I obeyed, and my antagonist foon followed. The day was fixed for our appearance; but as Pontius was an excommunicated man, he could not, agreeably to the canons, be admitted to the bar: notice was therefore fent to him, that he should prepare himfelf for absolution, by a due course of penance. He answered the messenger, that the power of excommunication belonged only to St. Peter, and that no mortal man possessed it .- I need not fay, how much this haughty reply enraged the pontiff; the Roman people were flruck with horror, and Pontius was proclaimed a schismatic.

tl

0

fe

The fame message was then fent to his partisans. BOOK They were more tractable; they acknowleded their crimes; barefooted they entered the palace, and were absolved. Afterwards they were admitted to plead the cause of their master, though the indulgence was remarkable, and feldom had been heared a more groundless plea. - Our defence was then called for: we spoke, and were listened to with attention. - His holiness rose from his throne, and withdrew with his council, to weigh the merits of our cause. After some hours, he returned, refumed his feat, and the hishop of Porto was ordered to read the fentence. It was in these words: "The holy Roman church deposes, " for ever, from all dignity and ecclefiaftical " functions, Pontius, the facrilegious usurper, " and the excommunicated schismatic; and re-" flores Cluni, with its monks and possessions, to " the prefent abbot, from whom they have been " unjustly taken."

The fentence had the defired effect: the difaffected members submitted to my authority, and the schism, in a moment, ceased. But the proud fpirit of Pontius was unconquerable, and by order of the pope he was thrown into a dungeon. As we were preparing to return into France, we were all feized by a contagious malady, which then was rife in Rome. The unhappy prisoner was also feized. Chagrined and heated by intemperate BOOK exertions, he was not in a condition to withstand the raging fever, and he expired as he had lived, fearless and impenitent. The rest of us soon recovered \*7.

Thus in learned and entertaining intercourse, the hours passed. Peter was much pleased with his guest; he could discover nothing in his manners or conversation, which was not exemplary and improving; and it occurred to him that, could he detain him at Cluni, it might prove of much advantage to his subjects. Besides, he compassionated his sufferings, and was anxious to relieve them. The matter however was delicate, and it required some address to propose it in terms which might not be offensive. Abeillard was an abbot, a man of high reputation, and his same was suffering from imputations, which, it seemed, could only be sancelled at the bar of Rome.

F

iı

I

b

R

n

to

u

W

th

I

In the mean time arrived at Cluni Rainardus, abbot of Citeaux, and general of the Ciftercian order of monks. He came, it appears, on the laudable and humane business, of effecting a reconciliation between Abeillard and St. Bernard. The latter was his subject; and probably the violent manner, in which he had conducted the profecution against the abbot of St. Gildas, had not methis approbation. Rainardus was a man of great

<sup>17</sup> Fleury, vol. xiv. 18 Ep. Pet. Ven. p. 336.

mildness, piety, and erudition. He opened his BOOK defign to Peter, and begged his concurrence. No VI. measure could be more agreeable to the character of his good heart, and together they waited on Abeillard.

I am come, faid the abbot of Citeaux, after the first falutations were over, to propose to you an accommodation with my brother Bernard. - I was ever a friend to peace, replied Abeillard, and have been forced into the present measures by the violence of the man, whose name you have mentioned, and for whose virtues I otherwise entertain the highest respect. Indeed I have been illused. - Will you go along with me then to Clairvaux? inquired Rainardus: there we shall find Bernard, and I have no doubt but, in the first interview, every cause of dissension will be at once removed. - Abeillard thanked him for his kindness. but helitated to give a direct answer to his proposals befides, continued he, I am on my journey to Rome, and can defer it no longer. - You must, my friend, go to Clairvaux, faid the abbot of Cluni, interrupting him; and as for your journey to Italy, it is not so preffing, and may as well be undertaken after your return. - I can oppose your wishes no longer, observed Abeillard, if you really think, that the cause of peace, or my own reputation, can be benefited by my compliance. The abbots applauded his disposition, and then

vt. observed that, as he had never had any other intention, than to promote truth and to serve his neighbour, he could have no difficulty to retract or to amend any expressions, either in his discourses or in his writings, which had been judged reprehensible. — Such have ever been my dispositions, replied Abeillard.

The abbot of Cluni wished them-all success in their undertaking, and they departed for Clairvaux. We know not the particulars of the interview, only that, after matters had been properly explained, on both sides, a sincere reconciliation took place betwixt Abeillard and Bernard. The abbot of St. Gildas then returned to Cluni, where Peter, in anxious expectation, waited his coming, and his heart was gladdened with the news.

But it was now reported, and the report was foon confirmed that, in confequence of the letters Bernard had dispatched to Rome, a sentence, such as has been mentioned, had been pronounced against Abeillard. Moderate men were struck by the intemperate and irregular transaction, and no one so much as Peter of Cluni; but out of the evil, he thought, good might be drawn: Abeillard perhaps might now be induced to accede to the proposal, he had for some time revolved in his mind, and take up his residence in the monastery of Cluni.

s Ep. Pet. Ven. p. 336.

Abeillard was not prepared for the unexpected BOOK flock. He had appealed to the equity of Rome. was hastening to submit himself to its decision, and had just been reconciled to the leading profecutor. Unheard he found himself sentenced to filence and imprisonment, his works condemned to the flames, his opinions anathematized, and his name conjoined, by an infamous stigma, with that of Arnold of Brescia, Peter in vain offered him comfort: his case was almost unprecedented in the annals of persecution, and he would not add to his pain by attempting to extenuate the bad conduct of his enemies. From himself, his experience of human malevolence, and his ready submission to the will of heaven, he concluded, the best resources might be derived on this trying occasion: to them he would leave him, and wait till reflection had worn off the edge of refentment.

Habituated as the mind of Abeillard had been to ill usage, it seemed sooner to recover from the shock. The frienship of Peter Maurice, the sympathizing deportment of his monks, and the holy retirement of the place, all contributed to still the agitation of his heart. The abbot, with joy perceived the effect, and would not lose the happy moment. " Abeillard, faid he to him, you must not leave

" us. Can you submit to remain at Cluni? The late

« event, which we viewed as a difafter, was

a perhaps meant to promote your felicity, and

" ours conjointly with it. There is not an inhabitant OOK " under this roof, who does not wish to be longer " edified by your example, and improved by vour instruction." - Abeillard remained filent: the benevolence of his protector, and the fudden propofal, feemed to overpower him. "Your " kindness, said he at last, I feel like balm upon " my mind; and how flattering is the goodness " of your monks! But you know, it not in my " power to accept your generous der: I have " myself an abbey to attend to, to which I must re-" turn, if my enemies will allow it. Befides, this fatal " fentence, which has been pronounced against me, has cast me out from the society of christians: " in the horrors of a prison must my remaining " melancholy days be confumed. " - " I will make " your peace with Rome, rejoined the abbot ear-" neftly, and procure permission for you to remain " at Cluni, if you will give me your consent." -A request so reasonable, and withal so soothing to his distressful situation, could not be refused. Abeillard embraced his friend, and they parted ".

The venerable man, without delay, wrote to the Roman bishop. He begins his letter by relating the circumstances, which the reader has just heared, for they are taken from this letter, and when he

Ep. Pet. Chiniac. Vie d'Abeil. p. 144. &c.

comes to the main subject of his petition, he says: BOOK " Induced by my advice, or rather, I think, in-" fpired by heaven, he has chosen to relinquish " the tumultuary scenes of scholastic studies and " disputation, and with us to take up his last " abode at Cluni. His age, his infirmities, his piety, " affected me much, and also I was led to believe " that his learning, to which your holiness is no " ftranger, might be rendered very ferviceable to " the crowds of young men, who inhabit these " cloifters. It is now your approbation only which " we wait for. Grant it, therefore, we humbly " intreat you. I request it, I, the meanest of your " fervants, and the abbey of Cluni, ever devoted " to you, joins my petition; let the voice of " Abeillard be heared with ours; it is his prayer "that the remaining days of an unhappy life, " which perhaps are but few, he may be com-" manded to spend at Cluni. Like the sparrow he " has chosen this habitation, and like the plaintive "turtle, he rejoices here to have built his nest. " May no opposition disturb his rest, no violence " intrude on his retirement. You who are the " guardian of the good and virtuous, and who

A messenger was dispatched with this letter to Rome, and Abeillard, composed and submissive

once loved Abeillard, will take him under the

" fhield of your apostolical protection.

I

BOOK waiting his return, once more gave his mind to fludy, and to the occupations of retirement and literary eafe. Here I shall leave him: other matters call for notice, which, agreeably to my plan, must not be omitted.

Arnold of Brefcia.

Among the extraordinary characters, which illuftrated or difgraced this period, none drew after it more observation, than that of Arnold, whose name has been more than once mentioned, born at Brescia, a town in the Venetian territories. When young he quitted his native country, and travelling into France, became a scholar of Peter Abeillard. What proficiency he made in science, is not faid; but his contemporaries describe him as a man endowed with no uncommon abilities, possessing a great fluency of language with little judgment, fond of novelties and of opinions the most paradoxical ". After many years residence in France he returned to Italy. - Arnold was foon fensible, that celebrity was not to be obtained by ordinary means, and his dispositions were little formed to purfue the beaten paths of life: to collect a party, to give his name to a fect, or to attack the rich and powerful, were ideas before which his mind expanded. Objects could not be long wanting for the exercise of his wildest ambition. He viewed the depraved manners and the

<sup>31</sup> Ott. Frifing. 1. 11. Gunth. Ligur. 1. 3.

intemperate lives of the monks and clergy, and BOOK against them he would direct the feverest opposition. His cause, he well knew, would be popular, and the better, under the guise of fanctity, to effect his purpose, he threw over his shoulders. the auftere dress of a religious man.

Thus habited, Arnold opened his invective in the streets of Brescia. The people crowded round him. He told them he was fent to reform abuses, to pull down the proud, and to exalt the humble. He then pointed his declamation against the bishops, against the clergy, against the monks, and finally against the Roman pontiff himself: to the laity only he was indulgent, and them even he flattered in their crimes. Churchmen, faid he. who hold benefices, bishops who have domains, and monks that have possessions, will all be damned. - His hearers shouted approbation. - These things, continued he, belong to the prince, he may give them to whom he pleafes, but he must give them to the laity. It is on their tithes and the voluntary contributions of the people that those fons of God must live: they must be frugal, continent, and mortified.

Thus does Guntherus of Liguria, a very elegant poet of the age, speak of Arnold and his preaching;

Tandem natalibus oris Redditus, assumpta sapientis fronte, diserto Fallebat sermone rudes; clerumque procaci

BOOK VI, Insectans odio, monachorum acerrimus hostis, Plebis adulator, gaudens popularibus auris, Pontifices, ipsumque gravi corrodere lingua Audebat papam; scelerataque dogmata vulgo Diffundens, variis implebat vocibus aures.

Lib. 2.

The church of Brescia was soon thrown into the greatest confusion, and the people, already prejudiced against their ministers, threatened to overturn their altars. The facred writings he had the address to urge in support of his affertions, and from them he denounced the vengeance of heaven against the violators of the law. Indeed, nothing could be more glaringly offensive, than the oftentatious parade of the bishops and great abbots, and the soft and licentious lives of the monks and clergy; but Arnold, in his declamation, far exceeded the bounds of truth.

Pontificum fastus, abbatum denique laxos
Damnabat penitus mores, monachosque superbos.
Veraque multa quidem, nisi tempora nostra sideles
Respuerent monitus, falsis admixta monebat.
Et fateor, pulchram fallendi noverat artem,
Veris falsa probans; quia tantum falsa loquendo
Fallere nemo potest.

In 1139 was celebrated a grand council at Rome. Arnold was cited to appear before it. His accusers were the bishop of Brescia, and many others, whom he had ridiculed and insulted. Nor from his judges could be look for much indulgence. He

### ABEILLARD AND HELOISA. 117

was found guilty, and fentenced to perpetual BOOK filence. Confidering his crime, this furely was a gentle punishment. But Arnold, whose highest ambition lay in the free use of words, viewed it, possibly, in a less partial light: he therefore instantly left Italy, crossed the Alps, and fat down at Zuric, where he dogmatized with new virulence and great fuccess.

Territus, & miseræ confusus imagine culpæ, Fugit ab urbe fua, transalpinisque receptus, Qua fibi vicinas Alemannia suspicit alpes, Nobile Turegum, doctoris nomine falfo, Insedit, totamque brevi sub tempore terram Perfidus impuri fœdavit dogmatis aura.

Though Arnold had quitted Italy, yet had his opinions taken deep root, and Rome itself was infected by them. Irritated by the conduct of their master, Innocent the second, the Roman people affembled in the Capitol. It was proposed that the power of the pontiff, which they called exorbitant, should be restrained: this was carried: when fuddenly, inspired as it were by the genius of the place, they moved that the fenate, which for years had been abolished, should be restored. The proposition was received with the loudest acclamations. Innocent in vain opposed the bold defign; there was a magic in it which spread irrefiftibly, and for a moment seemed to rouse the fallen

yi. The pope viewed with horvi. ror the reverse of fortune which threatened the
tiara; to be shorn of his mighty power, and to
become the mere shepherd of the christian people,
was a thought too afflicting: he fell sick, and
died.

Under his two immediate successors, Celestin and Lucius, whose reigns were but of a few months, the Romans purfued their darling object. They waited on the latter, and, in an imperious tone, demanded the restitution of all the honors and civil rights, which had been usurped from the people. The prince of the fenate, faid they, whom we have chosen, will best administer the important trust: the tithes and offerings of the faithful will fufficiently answer all the exigencies of your holiness: it was thus that our ancient bishops lived \_ Lucius ; had recourse to Conrad. the king of the Romans: and at the same time. the malecontents fent an embaffy to him, offering him their empire, and requesting that he would to their affistance. To this invitation march Conrad gave no attention; he viewed it as an attempt, at once wild and licentious: but to the pope's deputies he showed every mark of esteem. Lucius furvived this event but a few days.

Eugenius the third was his fuccessor, the friend and disciple of the renowned Bernard. The night

Fleury, vol. xiv.

before his confecration the fenators affembled, BOOK and it was agreed, that either he should solemnly confirm all their proceedings, or they would annul his election. This resolution was notified to him. He called together his friends; and it was their advice, that he should neither accede to the extravagant demand, nor expose himself. by a refusal, to the fury of the populace. He therefore filently withdrew from Rome, and retired to a neighbouring fortress. Here the ceremony of his confecration was performed.

Arnold who, in banishment, had contemplated the effect of his admonitions on the minds of the Romans, and the fuccess which seemed to follow their exertions, was now informed that the pope had retired, and that the gates of the capital were open to receive him: it was likewife fuggefted to him, that his presence was more than ever necessary, to give energy to their resolves, form to their plans, and flability to their undertakings. Arnold took fire at the news; an unufual fwell of enthufiasm filled his breast; and he fancied that, like Junius Brutus, he was called on once more to give liberty to Rome. - At his appearance a new stream of vigor animated the citizens; they called him their friend and their deliverer. The Brescian walked amongst them? his deportment was humble, his countenance emaciated, his address affable, and

b oo k he spoke to them of moderation, of submission, of vi. i obedience.—With the nobles and new senators he held another language; though to them also he was mild and diffident, speaking much of virtue and of respect for religion and the laws.

But no fooner was he fensible of his own real influence, and faw the lengths to which the revolters had already carried their defigns, than he threw aside the mask, and appeared in his own character, daring, impetuous, felffufficient, vain. He harangued the people; he talked of their forefathers, the ancient Romans, who, by the wifdom of their fenate, and the valor of their armies, had conquered nations, and fubdued the earth. He dwelt on the names and the achievements of the Bruti, the Gracchi, and the Scipios; and of these men, said he, are you not the children? He advised, that the Capitol be instantly repaired, that the equestrian order be restored, that the people have their tribunes, that dignity attend the fenate, and that the laws, which had been filent and neglected, be revived in all their vigor. He spoke of the pope, as of a deposed and banished tyrant: " But should you again " be disposed, continued he, to admit him " within these walls; first fix your own rights, " and determine his. He is but your bishop;

<sup>11</sup> Bern. Ep. 195, 196.

### ABEILLARD AND HELOISA. 121

" let him therefore have his spiritual jurisdic- BOOK tion. The government of Rome, its civil VI.

" establishments, and its territories, belong to

" you. These you will keep, if you have the

" spirit of men, and the hearts of Romans","

Quin etiam titulos urbis renovare vetustos, Patricios recreare viros, priscosque quirites, Nomine plebeio secernere nomen equestre, Jura tribunorum, sanctum reparare senatum, Et senio sessas, mutasque reponere leges; Lapsa ruinosis & adhuc pendentia muris Reddere primævo Capitolia prisca nitori: Suadebat populo.

Lib. 3.

Fired by this harangue, the people, headed by the most disaffected of the nobles, publicly attacked the few cardinals and churchmen, who remained in the city; they set fire to the palaces; and they compelled the citizens to swear obedience to the new government. Moderate men who saw the folly of the attempt, were shocked at these excesses of popular phrenzy; but it was vain to oppose the torrent: they submitted, looking forward, with some curiosity, to the termination of an event, which had begun in extravagance, and must end in disappointment.

<sup>34</sup> Ott. Frifing. lib, il.

воок

Eugenius till now had viewed, with some concern, the wild derangement of his people; but when it feemed, that their eyes opened to their own excesses, he could be inactive no longer. He excommunicated the ringleaders of the faction, and at the head of his troops, who were chiefly composed of Tiburtini, a people always hostile to the Romans, he marched against the enemy. His friends, within the walls, who were numerous, co-operated with his designs, and in a few days overtures for peace were made to the pontiff. He acceded to them, but on condition, that they should annul the arrangements they had made, and if they would have fenators, that they should acknowledge all their power was from him. The people were fatisfied, and they threw open the gates, through which Eugenius entered, among the acclamations of a fawning and inconftant multitude. - Before this event Arnold had retired; but he left behind him many friends ftrongly attached to his person and principles.

We hear little more of this enthusiast, for such he was, till the reign of Adrian, our countryman, when, on account of fresh tumults, he and his adherents were excommunicated, and Rome was threatened with an interdict, unless they expelled the whole party from their walls.

This they did. The Arnoldists retired with their BOOK champion into Tufcany, where he was received as a prophet, and honored as a faint. His enemies, however, prevailed: he was made prifoner, and conducted, under a strong escort; to Rome. In vain was great interest made to fave his life; he was condemned and executed. and his ashes thrown into the Tiber, lest the people should collect his remains, and venerate them as the relics of a fainted martyr ".

Such was Arnold of Brescia, a man, whose character, whose principles, and whose views, we perhaps should be disposed to admire, had his life been recorded by unprejudiced hiftorians, and not brought down to us drawn in the blackest colors, which party, bigoted zeal, and enthusiasm could lay on. He was rash, mif-judging, and intemperate, or never would he have engaged in fo unequal a contest. - The view of fuch a phenomenon in the twelfth century excites a pleafing admiration. To attack the Roman pontiff and his clergy in the very centre of their power, required a more than common share of fortitude; to adopt a fettled scheme of restoring to its pristine glory the republic of Rome, demanded a firetch of thought, com-

<sup>35</sup> Fleury, vol. xv.

BOOK prehensive and enterprising; and to forego the ease and indulgence of a dislipated age, for the reformation of manners and the suppression of what he thought usurped dominion, argued a character of mind, difinterested, generous, and benevolent. But Arnold, like other reformers, went too far; and passion soon vitiated untertakings, which were begun perhaps with motives the most laudable. The readiness, with which the Roman people embraced his plan of lowering the jurifdiction of the pontiff, and reftraining it within those bounds, which the true spirit of christianity had fixed, at once shows, that they could reason justly, and that they considered the unbounded fway of the triple crown, to which reluctantly they fubmitted, as an affumed prerogative, to which violence or misconstruction, and not christian right, had given efficacy.

Tanchelm of Antwerp.

Tanchelm or Tanchelin was another of those extraordinary apostles, who, about this period, attracted very general notice. He also was a man, as his historians represent him, who, under the imposing air of austerity and mortification, of abstemiousness from pleasure and an animated zeal against the vices of churchmen, gained a wondrous ascendency over the minds of the people. He opened his mission therefore by preaching against the disorders of the age. He was artful and

VI.

infinuating, and though a laic, poffeffed knowledge, BOOK and a flow of eloquence which was rapid and imposing.—Antwerp was then a great and flourishing city; but its vices were exuberant, and the torrent had spread itself into the adjacent countries. Here Tanchelm preached. He inveighed against the excesses of the great and opulent. The people listened with wonder. He courted their attention, and flattered their humor. He could then proceed to greater lengths: they were ignorant, he found, and uninstructed, and were therefore disposed to take whatever doctrines, he should lay before them. He talked of the pope, of bishops, and of the clergy, as of men, who had intruded themselves into the ministry of religion, to enjoy their eafe, and to cajole the people: the facraments he represented as profane and useless ceremonies, and the supper of our Lord as of no avail to falvation: and in himself and in in his followers. he concluded, dwelt the whole spirit of the church.

It was now time to make a more splendid figure: hitherto, his appearance had been lowly, and his discourse modest. He decorated his cloths with gold, and his hair with jewels, and furrounded by a guard of three thousand men, he advanced among their acclamations, preceded by a standard and a naked fword. Thus efcorted he preached BOOK VI.

in the open fields, and his words were received as oracles from heaven. nor could they be withstood; carnage and devastation marked his progress wherever opposition was made to his defigns.—I fpeak not of the abominations, he is faid, to have committed, nor of the atrocious diforders which his principles, are also said, to have recommended and fanctified. The enemies, of orthodoxy have often been charged with crimes, which to have committed coolly and fystematically, feems not to have come within the fphere of human depravity. It is more probable, because more possible, that their adversaries, though good and well-intentioned men, defamed their conduct, and mif-judged their principles. In the clash of two opinions the most probable must be chosen.

Emboldened by fuccess, Tanchelm raised his views to higher honors. He dared to tell the people that he was God. "Jesus Christ, said "he, took divinity to himself, because the plenitude of the Holy Spirit came upon him; I have received the same spirit, therefore am I equal to him." The people believed him, and sell prostrate at his feet.—To enhance the glory of his divinity, he entertained magnificently the crowds, which followed him; and joy, merriment, and pleasure gave a zest to

VI.

religion, which it had not known before. They BOOK who could approach his person, felt a glow of inspiration in their breasts; the ground on which he had trodden was deemed holy; and the water, in which he had bathed, they preferved as a relic of ineftimable value: it supported health, and expelled the most inveterate diforders.

To defray his expenses, which were great, Tanchelm had recourse to every device; but the liberality of his friends began to flacken. His invention, however, was not exhausted. He ordered a large statue of the Virgin Mary to be brought out among the people: Tanchelm then advanced up to it; he touched her hand, and pronounced the words which are used at the marriage ceremony. " You fee, faid he, " what I have done; I have married this virgin: " it is now your duty to make the customary " presents."—Two boxes were then placed, one for the men, the other for the women, on each fide of the image. - " Now shall we " discover, continued he, which of you entertain " the fincerest regard for me and my wife."-It was a contest of love and benevolence; but the women feemed to carry it: they tore the ornaments from their heads, the collars from their necks, and the rings from their ears.

BOOK VI. When the impostor, by fuch uncommon arts, had spread his influence and opinions over many provinces of Flanders, he meditated greater conquests. It is faid, that he thought of going to Rome itself, there to oppose his divinity against the mighty power of the pontiff. But as, one day, he was entering into a boat, which was to carry him on some religious expedition, a good priest aimed a blow at his head, which put a final period to all his greatness. His opinions, however, survived him, and his disciples, in spite of opposition, multiplied and maintained their tenets. Against them, Norbert of Premontré, of whom already I have spoken, was sent, and he successfully performed his commission, by preaching, by miracles, and by a display of the most exalted virtues ".

To account for the extreme animolity with which these, and other sectaries of the age, were actuated against the ministers of the church, certain circumstances must be duly considered. It is not without a cause that violent passions are excited.—France, about a century before, had been inundated by various sects, which went under the common denomination of Manicheans. They were treated with unexampled severity, and many had been burned in the different provinces of the kingdom. Persecution made them more circumspect, but it also instance their hatred

<sup>&</sup>quot;Fleury, vol. xiv. Nat. Alex.

against the clergy, who had been the principal BOOK agents in their oppression, and whose zeal had unsheathed the magistrate's sword against them. From the ashes of the dead, as it ever happens. rofe a vindictive race, on whose minds grew the early impression that they must revenge their own, and their fathers cause. It was hence their leading object to infult and vilify the priesthood. and whatever was of a nature to give them respect and confideration, in the eyes of the people, that they attacked with peculiar virulence: fuch was the administration of the facraments and their efficacy. the ceremonies of the church, prayers for the living and the dead, the order of priefthood, the Lord's supper, and the authority of the first paftors of the church.

The diforders and ignorance of the clergy were, besides, extreme: This has been already observed, the offices in the church were venal; the sacraments were administered by men, whom simony had corrupted, and concubinage debased; and the momentous truths of religion and morality were sunk in idle ceremony and vile superstition.—This is the dark side of the object.—Governed by such rulers, the people were ignorant, were brutal, were head-strong; nor could they have respect for those, to support whose excesses they contributed much of their substance, and from whom, in

Vol. II.

K

VI. unfeeling treatment. They would be ready to rebel, and to pull down these proud and useless ministers. A head only was wanting; and he who had courage, had some learning, was eloquent, and had address to manage the wayward passions of the multitude, might lead them to the wildest measures, and become their friend, their master, their general, and their prophet. Such were Arnold of Brescia and Tanchelm, and such was Henry de Bruys, in nothing inferior to either.

Henry de Bruys. Henry was in France, what his contemporaries, whom I have described, were in Italy and in Flanders; he was the disciple of Peter de Bruys, who had shown him the way, and had taught him the maxims, which he himself had practised, and sealed with his blood. The errors of Peter were, that infant baptism was useless, because it was necessary they should make an act of faith, and receive instructions—that churches, altars, and all material buildings, disgraced the service of God, and should be destroyed—that the cross was an implement of superstition, and should be broken and trodden under foot—that the facrifice of the mass was an idle ceremony, and ought not to be celebrated—and that alms, prayers, or

<sup>&</sup>quot; Dict. des Herefies, p. 484.

### ABEILLARD AND HELOISA. 131

other good works, offered for the dead, availed BOOK them nothing.

Peter was violent and head-strong, and these doctrines, which he might have propagated by gentle means, he would force on his countrymen by outrages and bloodshed. The southern provinces of France were the theatre of his excelles. He re-baptized the people, pillaged the churches, overturned the altars, burned the croffes, tortured the ministers, and forced the monks by threats and blows, to take wives, or to perish in dungeons. - So relates Peter the venerable, the man of benevolence and moderation, from what his own eyes had witneffed; and he it was, who principally opposed himself to the progress of the proud reformer 38. - Peter was at last seized by the irritated people, before whom, on Good-Friday, he had lighted up a large bonfire of croffes, and having broiled fome meat before it, invited the spectators to partake of his meal: they threw him into the flames, and he was confumed.

His friend Henry was warned by the example. He had adopted all the opinions of his mafter, and had added to them of his own: of these the principal were, that spiritual songs are an insult to the Deity, that he only delights in pious affections, that he is not invoked by

<sup>38</sup> Pet. Cluniac. Ep.

BOOK VI.

loud vociferation, nor foothed by the harmony of music". — The idea was gloomy; it had little else in it that was censurable. — The violence with which Peter had enforced his doctrine, seemed not to agree with the dispositions of Henry; he therefore adopted another method, which was that of infinuation and persuasive eloquence.

The description given of his person and way of life, by a contemporary writer, when he was young, and first appeared in the diocese of Mans, is not incurious. " About this time, fays he, came " from the neighbouring provinces a certain " hypocrite, whose actions, morals, opinions, " rendered deserving of the severest punishments. " He was young, but be wore his hair short, and " his beard unshorn; he was tall in stature, moved " quick, and his feet, in the rigor of winter. " were naked; his countenance and eyes were " agitated as the raging sea; he spoke rapidly, and " his voice was loud as the howling billows. In " his dress he was negligent and filthy, nor did " he live like other men; he frequented, for his meals, the houses of the meanest citizens; chose of for his abode, during the day, the porches of a his friends habitations, and flept in the most

Pet. Cluniac. Ep.

### ABEILLARD AND HELOISA. 133

" exposed and inclement places. But he soon BOOK

" acquired the reputation of a faint: the ladies,

" in particular, extolled his virtues; they faid,

" he had the fpirit of a prophet, that he could

" read the interior of their minds, and tell their

" fecret fins "." And well he might, if it be true, what the same author relates of his familiar conversation with them.

In this diocefe, fo great was the fame of his virtues, Henry obtained permission to preach to They flocked to him, and the the people. clergy even exhorted them to it. He mounted the tribunal, which had been prepared for him; his voice founded like the thunder from heaven; and they drank down his words with ravishment. Soon was the multitude convinced that he was a man divinely fent; and when Henry perceived the impression, he seized the moment, and laid before them his own favorite opinions. But his main drift was to inflil into their minds an aversion for their ministers, and to rouse them more to acts of violence and fury. The event more than answered his most sanguine wishes, and the clergy were foon fenfible how miferably they had been deluded.

<sup>&</sup>quot; Chronic. Cenoman, in Nat. Alex.

BOOK VI. The people came from his discourses, disturbed in their belief, and drunk with enthusiasm. They attacked their priests, and insulted the clergy, refusing to sell even the common necessaries to their domestics: they threatened to destroy their houses, to pillage their goods; and from menaces would have proceeded to every act of violence, had not the count of Mans, and the principal nobility, opposed the outrageous current of their phrenzy.

In the mean time, Hildebert, the bishop, who had been absent, returned from Rome. He was astonished at the change in his flock; for, instead of the respect, which ever before he had experienced from them, they insultingly resused his blessing, shouted the name of Henry in his ears, threw dirt at the clergy who accompanied him, and abused them in the most petulant and opprobrious language. But Hildebert was a cool and experienced man, and by gentle means so far opened the eyes of his people, that Henry thought proper to withdraw, and to look for new friends, in the provinces of Languedoc and Provence, where Peter had made so rich a harvest.

Eugenius of Rome, of whom I have fpoken, was not flow in fending a proper force against him. Bernard entered the lists, but the crafty impostor declined the contest. He retired;

fearch was made, and he was taken. We BOOK hear no more of him, only that he was delivered to the bishop of Toulouse, who threw him into prison, where probably he died ".

It is in fuch men as these, and in their opinions, that protestant writers have looked for that chain of tradition, by which the doctrine they profess, may have been brought down to them ". It may be fo; but providence, it feems, must have chosen extraordinary vehicles for the conveyance of his most important documents to man. I am, however, very ready to believe, as I have before noticed, that much of the accounts, which are recorded of them is extremely fallacious and over-charged. But where may we look for other fources of information, out of which to form a more prudent judgment, and whereby the writings of their contemporaries, a Bernard and a Peter the venerable, may be corrected and reformed? To the reader also the reflection must ever recur, that, as the opinions which these men fupported, were uniformly and fleadily opposed, as soon as they were made public, there must have been novely, at least, in them, and confequently that they were not, parts of that ancient and authentic doctrine,

<sup>\*</sup> Fleury, vol. xiv. Basnage, Hist. des Egl. Rés.

BOOK on which time and authority had stamped their va. venerable seal.

Other men there were, about this period, whose characters were almost as deserving of notice, as these I have mentioned; but enough has been said to answer the object I have in view, and Abeillard, of whom I must soon take my last farewel, again calls me to Cluni.

END OF THE SIXTH BOOK.

# HISTORY

### OF THE LIVES OF

## ABEILLARD and HELOISA.

#### BOOK VII.

Abeillard writes two apologies—His life at Cluni—
He falls fick—And dies at St. Marcellus—His
character—The abbot of Cluni writes an account
of his death to Heloifa—She requests his body,
and obtains it—Writes to Peter the venerable—
His answer—Innocent II.—Eugenius III.—
Adrian IV.—State of England—State of France—
The second crusade—Death and character of
Suger— of Bernard— of Peter the venerable—
Heloifa—Her death.

### Anno, 1141.

IF the reader be not a whimfical man, and BOOK therefore fond of exotic characters, he will leave, without regret, the new company, to which I had introduced him, and rejoice once more to meet Abeillard and his venerable friend.

BOOK VII. apologies.

Having confented to remain at Cluni, could permission be obtained from Rome, Abeillard, resigned He writes two to the will of heaven, composed his agitated thoughts, and fought for comfort in the occupations of prayer and fludy, to which the genius of the place and his own propensions called him. Peter Maurice was much pleafed by the calm refignation of his guest, and he let pass no occasion of giving it stability by every means in his power. He fuggested various expedients for filling up the irksome moments of suspense, till his messenger fhould return, and one day proposed to him the propriety of writing an apology, or a profession of his real opinions, which might be given to the world. "Your fentiments, faid he, have been " mistaken or misrepresented; you know the charges " that are against you; state then your belief, in " terms, clear, precise, and unequivocal. It will " filence your enemies, and give joy to your " friends. Besides, do not your own honor, and " the love of truth, exact it from you?"-Abeillard faw the propriety of the measure, and thanked his kind adviser. His mind had long been a stranger to the voice of friendship, and it now fell, foothing as the dew from heaven upon a parched foil.

The opening of his apology is submissive, but manly, and shows how little he deserved the

VII.

harsh treatment, he had experienced. It is addressed BOOR to the universal church. - " The observation, " fays he, is well known, that the most accurate " expressions can be easily perverted, and that he " who writes much only adds to the number of " his judges. But I who have written little, and " in comparison of many others, almost nothing, " have not escaped cenfure; though where I am " most heavily charged, God knows, I am not " conscious of any fault; nor, were there any " would I defend it with obstinacy. Inadvertently " I may have written what should not have been " faid; but heaven is my witness, and I appeal " to it, that I have uttered nothing from malice, " nothing from pride of heart. In the schools I " often fpoke to thousands, but it was not furrep-" titiously; what I thought might tend to the " elucidation of truth and the progress of morality, " that I publicly delivered; and what I have " written, that I freely laid before the public, " not to make profelytes to my opinions, but " that they might judge them. If I have exceeded " in difcourfe, which may have happened, ever " have I been disposed to amend or to retract " my expressions: and in this resolution I will abide " to the end. How then can I be deemed a heretic? " \_But as it is my duty to correct my errors, if " any there be; fo will it become me to repel " fuch, as have been fallly imputed to me. I

" children '."

\* know that purposely, we should not rouse the tongues of the malevolent against us, and when by their own malice they are in motion, we fhould bear it patiently; sometimes however we may be allowed to silence them, lest, by their evil reports, they corrupt the minds of those, who might draw good from our instructions.—

Be convinced then, my brethren that I, an unworthy son as I am of the church, do believe all that she believes, do reject all that she rejects.

The unity of faith I have never violated, though in conduct, I know, I am the last of her

He then proceeds to an explicit declaration of his faith, on such points as had been censured; than which nothing can be more orthodox, whether it be tried by the test of modern belief in the catholic church, or by the more ancient creeds of the primitive ages.—Peter approved much of his apology, and it was soon dispersed among the churches of France.

While the abbot of St. Gildas was engaged in this laudable work, he heared that Heloisa and her nuns at the Paraclet were much alarmed at what had happened. The dangers in which he was involved, distressed them; and besides, a thousand anxious thoughts disturbed their minds. It was natural, when they heared of the condemnation of his opinions at Sens, and read the sentence of the

Dp. Abeil. p. 330.

Roman court against him, that they should tremble BOOK for themselves. If their master was a heretic; how could they be orthodox, who had taken all their opinions from him, and who venerated him as the oracle of truth? His fermons were read in their church, and his other works were feldom out of their hands. - Abeillard felt for their fituation, and wished to relieve it. The apology he had just written would well answer the purpose, but he was dispofed to do it by a more personal address. He therefore wrote to Heloifa.

e

r

,

1-

e

S

h

er

n

d;

K,

ef

nt

ch

he

in

nd

at

he

u-

It on

the

" It is the study of philosophy, fays he to her, " which has prejudiced the world against me. My " enemies allow that, in this science, I am excel-" lent, but that I know little of the doctrine of " Paul. They commend the acuteness of my " talents, and take from me the purity of a christian " believer. They are led away rather by furmife. " than by any experience of my opinions. I have " no ambition to be a philosopher in opposition " to Paul, or to postpone Christ to Aristotle. It " is under his name only that I can be faved. "Wherefore, that all fearful folicitude and anxious " cares may be expelled from your breaft, be " affured, Heloifa, that my conscience rests upon " that rock, on which Christ built his church."\_ He then specifies the articles of his belief, and concludes: "This is the faith in which I stand, " and here I fix the anchor of my hope: thus \*\*BOOK "frengthened, I do not fear the howlings of vII. "Scilla; I laugh at the gulph of Carybdis; and the fatal fongs of the Sirens charm me not. "If the tempest roar, I am not shaken, nor

" do the blowing winds move me. My feet rest

" upon this folid rock "." .

The messenger now returned with the agreeable tidings, that the pope was satisfied with the favorable accounts he had received of the dispositions of Abeillard, that he suspended the sentence which had been pronounced against him, and that, conformably to his request, he was permitted to end his days in the monastery of Cluni.

His life at

The calm stillness, which, at evening, often succeeds to a tempessuous day, may very aptly represent the present state of the mind of Abeillard. All was hushed within him, the moment Peter, taking him by the hand, signified to him the will of Rome.—Abeillard then begged the good man's blessing, and while on his knees, humbly requested, as he was now his subject, that he would lay his commands on him; that the only wish he had, was to retire from the world, to make his peace with heaven, and to be heared of no more. Peter raised him from the ground: "I have no commands, said he, to "give you: you are free to indulge your own

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Op. Abeil. p. 308.

"pursuits; and as to the rule of Cluni, by which BOOK our hours and conduct are regulated, it shall the no farther binding on you, than as it may fuit with your inclinations. Be happy only, and refigned to your station."—Abeillard insisted, that he should be considered as a private religious man, and that no distinction or indulgence should be shown him. — To this the abbot would by no means consent, and he gave his orders that, after himself, he should occupy the first place in the monastery.

of

nd

ot.

or

eft

ee-

th

he

he

m,

vas

of

ten

tly

eil-

ent

to

red

es,

ct,

hat

the

be

the

to

wn

Very few words will now describe the life of Abeillard. The uniformity of the cloistered situation admits of no variety, and the occupations of one day are the occupations of life. Resigned he was: he was humble, retired, taciturn, studious, and devout. The most perfect admired his greater perfection, and the indolent were animated by the view of his splendid virtues. Peter Maurice, who was an eye-witness to his conduct, has delineated, with much complacency, the behaviour of his friend and this I will give. It is contained in a letter to Heloisa.

"It was the superintending providence of heaven which sent him to Cluni, in the last years of his life. The present was the richest which could have been made us. Words will not easily express the high testimony, which

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Pet. Cluniac. Ep. ad Helois. p. 337.

VII.

BOOK "Cluni bears to his humble and religious deport-" ment within these walls. Never did I behold " abjection fo lowly, or abstemiousness fo ex-" emplary. By my express defire, he held the " first place in our numerous community, but in " his dress he seemed the last of us all. When in " our public processions I saw him walking near " me, recollected and humble, my mind was " ftruck: fo great a man, thought I, by felf-" abasement, is thus voluntarily brought low! " Contrary to the practice of many, who call " themselves religious men, Abeillard seemed to " take delight in penury; and the most simple and " unadorned habit pleafed him most. He looked " no further. In his diet, and in all that regarded "the care of his body, he was equally referved " and abstemious. More than what was absolutely " necessary he never fought for himself, and he " condemned it in others. His reading was almost " inceffant; he often prayed; and he never interrupted his filence, unless when, urged by the " intreaties of the monks, he fometimes converfed " with them, or in public harangues explained to " them the great maxims of religion. When able. " he celebrated the facred mysteries, offering to " God the facrifice of the immortal lamb; and after 66 his reconciliation to the apostolic see, almost daily. " In a word his mind, his tongue, his hand, were ever employed in the duties of religion, or in developing

" developing the truths of philosophy, or in the BOOK

" profound researches of literature."

This furely is the description of a perfect man, drawn by the hand of one of the most amiable and beneficent characters, recorded in the annals of monastic history. Peter had long been meditating a reform of the many abuses which, during the administration of Pontius, his predecessor, particularly, had crept into his order: he wished to restore it to its ancient splendor. But also, as every thing that is human feems to contain within itself the principles of its own destruction, Cluni, which had now fubfifted more than two hundred years, was in its natural decline; and this was accelerated by its vast wealth and unbounded reputation. Its growth had been rapid and unufual, and it fell in a fimilar proportion. The great man in vain opposed this necessary effect, and with joy he availed himself of the example, the learning, and the influence of Abeillard. They could apply temporary relief to the evil; and Peter, a few years after, introduced a very ferious fystem of reform. He died, and with him expired the glory of Cluni.

In the exercise of the virtues, I have recorded, Abeillard had spent some months, and perhaps they were the happiest of his life. The monks were

1

o

d

d

d

y

ne st

r-

ne

ed to

le,

to

er

ly.

in

Pet. Cluniac. Ep. ad Helois. p. 337.

VII.

BOOK very defirous that he would be more liberal of his instructions to them, and the abbot (who faw with pleasure that a taste for literature was reviving in his convent, which he could but ascribe to the example of Abeillard), was very pressing that he should comply with their wishes. Abeillard could refuse nothing to his kind benefactor; but he felt a fecret reluctance, which no effort could furmount, in again entering on the bufiness of instruction, which had often proved fo difastrous to his happiness. The calm, which he now enjoyed, might only portend another florm. There was likewife another cause which aided to generate this distaste for public employment, of which at first he was hardly sensible. His constitution had always been delicate, and care, preying upon his tender fibres, had increased the evil. When he came to Cluni, as Peter observed in his letter to Rome, his health was very precarious, and it did not feem that he had many more years to number. The agitation fubfiding, which had given motion to his heart, a languor enfued, and he began to fuspect that a period would soon be put to all his labors. With composure he viewed the event, but it gave a difrelish for every active pursuit, by which his neighbour indeed might have been ferved, and his own mind would have been diffurbed in that awful meditation, which prepares us best for another world,

He was willing, however, to get the better of BOOK his reluctance; to make some return for all the kindnels he experienced, and to comply with He falls fick. the intreaties of his friends, which he could oppose no longer. He sometimes, therefore, appeared in the public school of the convent, and entered on fuch discussions as he thought would be most agreeable to his hearers. Their applause was as unbounded, as it was fincere, and, for a moment, it revived in him that animation of ideas and of eloquence, which was his peculiar excellence. These exertions did but injure his health; his color was feen to come and go, and a tremulous faltering in his voice foon indicated that the internal frame was giving way. Other fymptoms likewise showed themselves, and a scorbutic humor, to which he had long been subject, broke out with violence on many parts of his body . - The monks were alarmed; but no one so much as the good abbot, who now loved him as a friend, and who feared that Cluni would foon be deprived of fo eminent a pattern of monastic virtues.

He redoubled his attention to him; he expostulated gently with him on the too little care he seemed to take of his health; he insisted that he should desist from every strong exertion; that he should give less time to study and reslection;

d

f

IS

1,

18

te

at

d

is

1e

to

id

er.

on

to

all

ıt,

by

er-

ed eft

Pet. Cluniac. Ep.

VII.

2 0 0 K that he should conform to none of the duties of the convent; but that by gentle exercise, repose, and every affistance which medicine could fupply, he would endeavour to regain strength, and ward off the blow which threatened him. Abeillard submitted; but all attempts to relieve him proved fuccefsless; his malady grew daily more inveterate, and it was judged proper to try the effect of another air.

And dies at

At Chalons on the river Saone, not far from St. Marcellus. Cluni, flood the priory of St. M. rcellus. It was beautifully fituated at a little distance from the town, the neighbouring country was delightful; and its air was thought to be the most pure in Burgundy. It is the description which Peter himfelf gives of it. The priory depended on the abbey of Cluni. When it feemed adviseable that Abeillard should try the effect of air, none was judged so proper as that of St. Marcellus; and Peter, with his usual kindness, proposed it to him. Abeillard was not disposed to move; fickness, conspiring with the recollection of former troubles, had ferved still more to inspire a distaste of life, and he did not wish to leave Cluni, which probably he should never see again, and where, amongst the fympatizing cares of his friends, he might close his eyes in peace. This unwillingness he expressed to the abbot, and he dwelt upon it with unufual earnestness. Peter, however, could not recede from

the point; for he judged that a life, which every BOOK day's experience rendered of more consequence vit. to his convent, should be guarded by every possible attention. He, therefore, persisted in his design, and Abeillard, reluctantly obedient, taking leave of his friends, was conveyed to St. Marcellus. Often did he turn his eyes towards that noble mansion, where he had found protection in distress, and where, to his experience at least, religion, learning, virtue, and Peter the venerable dwelt.

"Thus (continues the abbot of Cluni in his narration to Heloifa) this good and fimple man, having fpent fome time with us, avoiding evil and fearing God; was, by my express defire, fent to Chalons. The scurvy, and other infirmities, had become daily more violent. I thought the situation might agree with him, for it is healthy, and more beautifully pleasant, than most parts of Burgundy: its site is near the town, but on the other side of the river, which washes with its stream the verdant banks of the priory.

But it did not feem that this genial air of St. Marcellus, that its flowery lawns, and filver ftream, could reftore vigor to the expiring life of Abeillard. On the contrary he grew worse, and perhaps what was meant to relieve him, only accelerated his end. Sensible then that all human means could not avert the blow, he cheerfully submitted to it,

1

n

S

n

1-

y

d

ò

h

d

d

d

ft

ſe

d

al

m

Pet. Cluniac. Ep.

VII. posure of a christian philosopher. He resumed, as well as he was able, the course of life he had practised at Cluni: he studied, prayed, and meditated. Even he did more. The confraternity of St. Marcellus begged that they also might partake of his instructions, and he made an effort to satisfy their request. He wrote some discourses for them; and when his hand could obey no longer, he dicated what remained, in a seeble voice, to the

monks who fat attentive round him '. " Occupied in these exercises, concludes Peter, \* the vifiter of the gospel found him, not asleep, " but watching. He found him truly watching, and he called him, with the wife virgins, to " the banquet of eternal blifs. He had his lamp a full of oil, that is, a conscience replete with the " works of a holy life. - The virulence of his " disorder increasing, in a few days, he was brought " to that goal, towards which all the generations " of men are hastening. With what sentiments of " devotion he then first declared his faith, and " afterwards made the confession of his fins; with " what ardent affection he received the body of his " redeemer, which was to carry him to eternal " rest; and how earnestly he commended both foul and body, here and for ever, into the

Pet. Cluniac. Ep.

a hands of his maker, many holy men can

" witness, and with them the whole convent of

BOOK VII.

" St. Marcellus "."

f

e

C

e

,

0

P

le

is

ıt

15

of

d

h

is

al

th

Abeillard died in his fixty-third year, on the twenty-first of April, in the year 1142.

Abeillard's character, may with ease collect the scattered members, and view at once the general portrait.— He was born with uncommon abilities, and in a better age, had they been directed to other

The reader who has feen the detached parts of His character.

and in a better age, had they been directed to other purposes, their display might have given more solid glory to their possessor, and more real advantage to mankind. But he was to take the world as he found it, for he could not correct its vicious taste, nor indeed did he attempt it. On the contrary the vicious taste of the age seemed to accord with the most prominent features of his mind. He loved controversy, was pleased with the sound of his own voice, and, in his most favorite researches, rather looked for quibbles and evasive sophistry, than for truth and the conviction of

When we consider him as a writer, not much more can be added to his praise. He is obscure, labored, and inelegant, nor do I discover any

reason. He was a disputatious logician therefore,

and in this confifted all his philosophy. - His

divinity was much of the fame complexion.

Pet. Cluniac. Ep.

BOOK traces of that genius and vivid energy of foul, which he certainly poffeffed, and which rendered him fo formidable in the schools of philosophy. Even when he describes his own misfortunes, and is the hero of his own tale, the story is languid, and it labors on through a tedious and digreffive narration of incidents. In his theological tracts he is more jejune, and in his letters, he has not the elegance, nor the harmony, nor the foul of Heloifa. Therefore, did we not know, how much his abilities were extolled by his contemporaries, what encomiums they gave to his pen, and how much the proudest disputants of the age feared the fire of his tongue, we certainly should be inclined to fay, perufing his works, that Abeillard was not an uncommon man.

Nor was he uncommon in his moral character. He had not to thank nature for any great degree of fenfibility, that fource of pain and of pleafure, of virtue and of vice. Thrown, from early youth, into habits, which could not meliorate his difpofitions, he became felfish, opiniative, and vainglorious. What did not ferve to gratify his own humor, called for little of his regard. He wished to appear above the common feelings of humanity, for his philosophy was not of a nature to make him the friend of man. Of religion he knew little . more than the fplendid theory; and its amiable precepts were too obvious and familiar to engage

BOOK VIL

the attention, and modify the heart, of an abstrule and speculative reasoner .- When he loved Heloisa, it was not her person, nor her charms, nor her abilities, nor her virtues, which he loved; he fought only his own gratification, and in its purfuit, no repulsion of innocence could thwart him, no voice of duty, of friendship, of unguarded confidence, could impede his headlong progress. He fuffered; and from that moment rather he became a man. We may blame him perhaps, that he should so easily forget Heloisa; but I have faid, that he never really loved her. More than other men, he was not free to command his affections; and from motives of religion, perhaps even of compassion, he wished in her breast to check that ardent flame, which burned to no other purpose, than to render her heart miserable, and her life forlorn.

To erase these unfavorable impressions, which the mind has conceived of Abeillard, we must view him in distress, smarting from oppression and unprovoked malevolence. There was, I know, in his character something which irritated opposition, whether it was a love of singularity, an asperity of manners, or a consciousness of superior talents, which he did not disguise. However this might be, the behaviour of his enemies was always harsh, and sometimes cruel; and him we pity. — He now became a religious, a benevolent,

BOOK VII. and a virtuous man; and thousands reaped benefit from his instructions, as they were tutored by his example. — The close of his unhappy life was to the eye of the christian spectator its most brilliant period. His sun, which through its long revolution, had been often obscured by dark clouds and pallid vapors, now descended in a mild radiance, and disappeared with glory. In his death he was the great and good man, the philosopher and the christian. The all-ruling hand of providence, which made us what we are, can best correct the accidental depravity of our natures, and perfect his own work, sometimes in the funshine of prosperity, but oftener in the chilling blast of tribulation.

Peter the venerable, whose benevolence of character, while it threw a veil over the imperfections of his friend, was careful to draw out his virtues, and to embellish them, has also described the abbot of St. Gildas. — "He was the Socrates of France, he says, the Plato of Italy, the Aris-

- totle of the schools. To his predecessors, in the
- " walks of philosophy, he was equal, or superior.
- " Confessed by all the master and model of elo-
- " quence, he charmed by the variety of his talents,
- " and convinced by the subtilty of his reasoning.
- " But then was his life most transcendent, when
- " clothed in the habit of Cluni, and professing
- " its rule, be became the true philosopher of Christ

"Here happily terminating the last scene of a long life, he left us full of hope, that his eternal habita-

BOOK

" tion would be with the virtuous and the wife".

0

t

1-

d

h

er

i-

ft

,

10

ıg

a-

ns

s,

ne

of

if-

ne

or.

0-

ts,

ig.

en

ng

ft

There is more of panegyric, than of simple truth in these lines; but they fell without flattery from the pen of Peter, while he wished to sooth the aching heart of Heloisa.

The news of the death of Abeillard was carried The abbot of

to Cluni, and the whole convent lamented his loss. Cluni writes Peter mourned for him as for a friend, fnatched an account of his death to immaturely away, just as he began to know his Helossa. worth, and to admire his virtues. Vainly he had sometimes flattered himself, that heaven might indulge his wishes, and give him longer the company of a man, from whose conversation and advice he could draw comfort and counsel, in the arduous duties of his office, and from whom also the whole community of Cluni might derive such effential benefits. His death however was not an unexpected shock, and was therefore less painful:

When his good heart had indulged these mournful thoughts, and a solemn service, agreeably to the practice of the Roman church, had been performed for the repose of the departed soul; Peter well saw he had another office of friendship to

from the first moment he had entered his gates,

he faw he was a flower, wounded at the root,

which must soon wither and fall.

Pet. Cluniac. Ep.

execute, which could not be any longer postponed. BOOK This was to acquaint Heloisa of the event. - He VII. knew the tender tie which bound her to Abeillard; at all events, as he had been the founder of the Paraclet, its benefactor, and its friend, it was proper they should have notice of his death. Often did he reflect, how he could communicate the doleful tidings best: he was not personally known to Heloisa; he would therefore, he thought; adopt that method, which, from his knowledge of human nature, would probably make the leaft painful impression. - Since Abeillard had been at Cluni, he had received letters from the abbes, probably to inquire after the health of his guest; and she had sent him some presents, as a mark of her esteem ".

He begins his letter by faying, how much her attention had pleased him, and that, on her own account alone, he had selt the most sentimental joy from her letters. "I wished, says he, instantly "to have replied, for my heart was full; but "business, and the troublesome cares of office,

" to which I am obliged to give way, hindered me.

"With some difficulty I now steal a day, and I give it to you."— He is sensible, he observes, that

" he should have made some return for the warm

" regard she had expressed for him, and which her

Pet. Cluniac. Ep.

presents also had attested; that he should have BOOK said how much he loved her in the Lord. VII.

The venerable man then proceeds with much gallantry: "But it is not just now, says he, that I a begin to love you: I remember what my heart " felt for you many years ago. When first I heared " your name, and fame reported the progress you " had made in human literature, I was but a young " man. Then, I recollect, it was faid, that a girl, " though engaged in the world, was busied in " the pursuits of science, and in the thorny " paths of worldly philosophy. This was rare; " but it was added that, neither pleasure nor " amusements could draw her, by their allure-" ments, from the objects of her laudable inquiry. " And at a time, when almost the whole world, " fhamefully indolent, had ceafed from thefe " laudable pursuits, and wisdom could hardly " find where to rest its foot, not only in the " company of the fofter fex, which had totally " renounced her, but even amongst men, you, " Heloisa, by your exalted studies left all the " women far behind you, and but few men could " enter into competition with you. But foon " your pursuits were turned to a better object? " the gospels took place of logic, Paul of philoso-" phy, and Christ of Plato; to the academic grove " fucceeded the retired cloifter. Now were you " truly called the philosophic maid."

1

a

k

r

n

1

y

,

e. I

at

m

er

He then continues his encomium in many allu-

fions from the books of scripture, and exhorts

her to perseverance for the advantage of many,

BOOK VII.

> who were now to draw edification from her example, and inftruction from her lips. "With " pleasure, says he, could I discuss these matters " with you, and dwell on the subject, for I am " charmed with your erudition, but still more " am I charmed by the fame of your religious " life."-He tells her how much it is his wish, that she were an inhabitant of Marcigni, (a convent of nuns not far from Cluni), and he relates their admirable virtues. " Thefe, I know, continues " he, you and your fifters may possess, even in " greater measure, and it may not be possible to " add to them; but would not our republic, of which Marcigni is a member, be enriched by the " treasures you would so liberally lavish on us? " But it has not entered into the schemes of " providence to bestow this blessing on Cluni."

> Hitherto he had not mentioned the name of Abeillard, or most distantly alluded to him; he had run out into compliment, and the artful induction of such matter, as would please by its elegance and familiar application, while it prepared her mind for the shock, which would not be so violent, when she saw that the hand which gave it was humane and gentle.—The last

line, "But it has not entered into the schemes BOOK " of providence to bestow this blessing on Cluni," most happily introduces the painful subject. "You heaven will not give us, he fays, but it " has given us your Abeillard, Heloifa, that fer-" vant of God, and that christian philosopher, " whose name shall ever be mentioned with re-" spect and honor." - He then relates his faintlike life at Cluni, in the words I have already copied, and in the conclusion of this charming panegyric, (which was calculated to fill her mind with the enthusiasm of virtue, and to raise it, in warm gratitude, to him, who had dealt fo kindly with Abeillard), he tells her that his health had begun to decline, and that he had fent him to the mild air of St. Marcellus. Nor does he forget still to praise his exemplary deportment, till the last scene can be with-held no longer: but so gradually had she been prepared for it, that it breaks imperceptibly upon her, and she hardly feels its shock.

r h

rs n

e

us

ı, nt

eir

es

in

to of

he

15.2 of

of

he

ful

its

re-

uld

and

laft

Having told the melancholy tale in a manner, which did honor to his heart and head, he concludes in these consoling words: " Thus did " Abeillard close his days. He, whose learning " was vast, and of whom almost the four corners " of the world had been taught to speak, became " the disciple of him, who was meek and humble " of heart. He is gone to his master. And you,

VII.

BOOK " dear fifter, who were once his wife, but " whom afterwards a purer tie united to him,

" repose now in the certain hope that the day " will come, when he will again be given to

"you. In the mean time, remember him,

" when your thoughts are raifed to God; remem-

" ber also me, and my brethren at Cluni"."

We know not, after all, how Heloisa received the tidings; for no reliance can be placed on the accounts, which fome authors, in wanton playfulness, have chosen to give of it". That it affected her much, is certain; because it would revive a thousand sad ideas, which had long been affociated in her mind: otherwise, the enthusiasm of her passion had spent itself; she was now near her fortieth year; absence had applied its soothing balfam; and religion, reason, and virtue, had all conspired to call her thoughts from earth to heaven. But if she felt the most pungent forrow, it was but natural; and if she indulged it, it was furely pardonable. The whole fociety of the Paraclet may likewise be permitted to mingle their tears with her's.

She requests his body, and obtains it.

The reader will perhaps recollect that Abeillard, in his first letter to Heloisa, had requested that, when or wherefoever he should die, his body might be conveyed to the Paraclet, that fo he

Pet. Cluniac. Ep. 22 Vie d'Abeil. p. 269.

might partake more fecurely of their prayers. BOOK At the time, this request had greatly agitated Heloisa, and it seemed to press like the hand of death upon her heart: fhe thought it cruel and ungenerous: but she could never forget it, and as the event, which she feared so much, had now happened, it would be her first duty to discharge the obligation. There is likewise within us a natural propension to possess the last remains of our friends, though they be but lifeless ashes, or cold dust.

Abeillard, it is probable, had lost fight of a circumstance, which was once so near to his heart, or had neglected to mention it, as a dying petition, to Peter of Cluni, or to the monks who closed his eyes. But Heloifa did not therefore think herfelf releafed from her engagement: she could propose it to the abbot of Cluni, nor could she doubt of his compliance. It was, besides, the united prayer of the Paraclet, that the ashes of their founder should repose within their walls. She therefore wrote to Peter, thanking him for his letter, and all his kind attentions to Abeillard, and then urged, in warm terms, what had formerly been his request, which she strengthened with her own and the joint petition of all her fifters 13. This letter is loft.

n

n

r

g

d

0

,

it

1e

le

d,

t,

dy

he

<sup>&</sup>quot; Vie d'Abeil. p. 269.

The good man felt at once the propriety of the BOOK request, and though he wished much to have VII. retained the corfe of Abeillard, whose dust would do honor to Cluni, for ages yet to come; yet he should not, he thought, be justified in so doing: he communicated the petition of the Paraclet to his community, who unanimously resolved that it must not be complied with; and the monks of St. Marcellus, who were actually in possession of the body, were even more averse. They had buried it in folemn pomp, and were preparing to raife a monument to his memory. The abbot in vain remonstrated, and urged the strong plea and the merit of Heloifa. In virtue of his post, he might have commanded a compliance; but this, from what motives, I know not, he did not

Some months had passed, during which nothing more was said about the removal of the body, and it seemed as if the scheme were deserted. Probably he had not neglected to inform Heloisa of his fixed resolution to oblige her, and had made such arrangements, as might be most proper for its accomplishment. In due time he went over to the priory of St. Marcellus. It was in the month of November. They could not suspect his intentions, as he was their superior, and various business might be the motive of his

chuse to do. He rather preferred another method,

which was fingular and romantic.

coming. In a dark night, however, while the community was asleep, the body, by the aid of his friends, who abetted the design, was taken from the vault; a carriage was ready to receive it; and they conveyed it, with all expedition, to the abbey of the Paraclet. Peter himself attended, and escorted the convoy ".

he

ve

ld

ret

g:

to

nat

of

of

ad

ng

lea

oft,

out

od,

ich

the

ere

rm

noft

he

was

not ior,

his

The shock was great which Heloisa felt; but she had not time to indulge it. The abbot of Cluni was announced, and instantly he appeared. She had not been apprized of his coming, and he well imagined that his sudden entrance might break the painful impression, which the mournful tidings, and more than that, the presence of the poor remains of Abeillard, would make on her mind. Indeed, gratitude she expressed for his kind services, and happy she was to see a man, for whom she entertained the most exalted esteem. But grief, and a bursting heart overpowered every other sentiment, and she withdrew.

In the mean time, preparations were making for the folemn celebration of the obsequies, and the body was carried into the church, covered with black, and surrounded by burning tapers. It was placed before the altar. Peter of Cluni, though fatigued from his journey, would perform as principal minister. The nuns assembled in their BOOK VII.

Heloif. Ep. ad Pet. Cluniac. p. 343.

VII.

BOOK choir, with Heloisa at their head; the sign was given, and the fervice opened in flow and plaintive music. - He that has imagination may now picture to himself Heloifa, in the finest attitude of refigned grief, with her eyes fometimes raised towards heaven, but often turned towards Abeillard, and glued to the mournful object. -He will represent the holy fifterhood variously affected, but with their countenances rather full of hope, that if they have loft the founder of the Paraclet, they have him for an intercessor in heaven, who now even kindly looks down upon them, and hears their prayers - and the venerable priest he will behold, standing at the altar, by his firm looks giving strength to the dejected, and animating the luke-warm by a display of the most sincere and unaffected piety.

When the fervice was over, Peter made a discourse to the assembly: he spoke of the virtues of Abeillard, and of his death which was faint-like, he recommended an imitation of those virtues; and he prayed that his end might be like unto his. He acknowledged and magnified the loss which Cluni and the Paraclet had fuffered; but then he inculcated submission to heaven. He glanced at the extraordinary endowments, the virtue, and the piety of Heloifa, from which every advantage might be derived, though the

BOOK

father of the Paraclet was no more: and he concluded with an earnest prayer for the prosperity and happiness of all those, who now attended this mournful ceremony '5.

as

nd

ay

ti-

es

ds

fly

ull

he

in

on

the

the

the

7 a

led

e a

tues

ike,

ies;

nto

loss

but

He

the

hich

the

We are come to the last act of the tragic scene.—The corse was now raised from the bier, and carried to the vault, which stood open to receive it. The mourners attended in procession, and the doleful psalmody still continued. Peter, having wiped a tear from his eyes, distinctly pronounced the parting supplication, and threw dust upon the grave: the spectators took their last look; when the vault was closed, and all was silence.

The stay which the abbot made at the Paraclet, as he acquaints us, was very short ". Business recalled him, and it was necessary he should return to pacify his brethren. Nor was it a moment to enjoy the company of Heloisa, whose mind was too forrowful to engage in conversation. She hung over Abeillard's grave, and was not easily drawn from the spot. What friendly advice and sympathizing kindness could offer, she received from him, and he settled some other business which she proposed to him. Again he exhorted the nuns to obedience, and to the steady observance of their rule; and parting from them, took his way towards Clunic

Heloif. Ep. ad Peter. Cluniac. p. 343.

Pet. Cluniac. Ep. p. 344.

BOOK

VII.

Not long after this event, Heloisa wrote again to the abbot of Cluni. Her mind was more at ease; she might be fearful that her late behaviour had not pleased him; and she had some other requests to make. The letter is as follows.

She writes to Peter the venerable.

" It was the kindness of heaven, most venerable " father, which lately directed you to the Paraclet. " We rejoiced, and we had reason to glory in " your vifit. Others may recount the benefits " they have derived from your presence; but I " am at a loss to express, nor can my mind well " tell, how useful, and how pleasing, it was to " me. You were with us in the month of Novem-" ber last, when in our church you celebrated " the facred mysteries, and the Paraclet you 4 recommended to the charge of the Holy Spirit. "The discourse you delivered to us is warm on " our memories; and never can we forget the " treasure you intrusted to us, of the body of " our dear master.-To me, in particular, whom " you honor with the appellation of fifter, as a " pledge of your love and fincerity, was a fingu-" lar favor then also granted: when it shall " please heaven to call me hence, thirty masses, " you promised me, should be said at Cluni, for the " repose of my foul; and you faid, you would con-" firm that promise to me by a writing under your " own feal. I now request you to fulfil that engage-" ment.-Send me also, if you please, another written " deed, containing the absolution of Abeillard,

" in diffinct and fair characters, figned by your- BOOK " felf, which may be hung upon his tomb.

" And for the love of God and me, do remem-

" ber my fon Astrolabius: if you can, try to " procure a living for him from the bishop of

" Paris, or from fome other prelate. Farewel.

" May heaven watch over you, and on fome

" future day, again permit us to fee you at the

" Paraclet!"

in

at

ur

er

le

et.

in

its

t I

ell

to

m-

ed

ou

rit.

on

the

of

om

s a

gu-

nall

es,

the

on-

our

ge-

ten

rd,

This is the last letter of Heloisa which time has not destroyed. It contains sentiments, expressive of the gratitude she felt for the good abbot's kindness to her, and of the high opinion fhe entertained of him. It contains likewise some other matters which are not uninteresting; such as the thirty maffes at Cluni, which Heloifa. enlightened and philosophical as she was, seemed to confider as a most fingular favor; such as the absolution she requested for Abeillard. This was a devotional practice of the times. Abeillard had been accused of holding heterodox opinions, and had even been condemned, and when he died, his faith was still suspected by many; Heloisa therefore was desirous to procure a formal attestation from the abbot of Cluni, importing that he had expired in the faith of the church. and in the favor of its ministers. This was called an absolution, and it was usually fixed over the graves of the dead, that it might be

M 4

VII. mentioned in this letter. It is the fecond time only that his name occurs, and it never returns again, excepting in the abbot's reply. He was at this time more than twenty years old.

The abbot of Cluni's an-

The abbot's reply. " I was pleafed, deareft " fifter, and not a little, by the perusal of your " letter. From it I perceived, that my flay at " the Paraclet was not really fo transitory, for " the recollection of it feems tenaciously fixed " upon your mind. It was not like the flying " vifit of a traveller, who is hospitably entertained " for one night, and is thought of no more. "How kind and indulgent you were to me! " Nothing feems to have been loft of all I did, " or faid, not only when my discourses were " delivered intentionally for your instruction, but " even when I converfed with you on common " and familiar subjects. It is the regard you " have for me which has given fo retentive a " power to your memory. Or perhaps you " were influenced by the words, written in the " rules of our respective orders, that in the per-" fons of our guests we are to think we receive " Christ himself. I trust then, that I shall never " be forgotten at the Paraclet; and that, to the " father of mercies, you and your fifters, will " ever raise up your hands for me. The return

Fleury, vol. xii.

VII.

"I can make to you, that I daily do. Long BOOK " before I knew you, you possessed a place in " my heart; and fince I have known you, that " place has been enlarged by all the influence of " the most fincere affection. - The promise I " made of the masses, I now execute, and send " you. - And with it you receive, what you " requested, the absolution of Abeillard, written " and figned by me.—As to Astrolabius, whom " I adopt, because he is your son, be assured, " as foon as it shall be in my power, I will do " all I can to place him in some of the great " churches. But the thing is difficult; for I have " often experienced that our bishops, when " application is made to them, make many dif-" ficulties, which are not eafily removed. For " your fake, however, my best endeavours shall

Abeillard's absolution.—"I Peter, abbot of Cluni, " who received Peter Abeillard into the number " of my religious, and who, having taken his " body, by stealth, from the grave, delivered it " to Heloisa the abbess and to her nuns at the " Paraclet, do now, by the authority of God " and his faints, absolve him, in virtue of my " office, from all his fins. May he rest in peace"." These matters being thus settled, Heloisa,

" be exerted, and that as foon as may be. Fare

" ve well."

<sup>10</sup> Op. Abeil. p. 336.

BOOK VII. pensive, but resigned, recalled all her thoughts, and fixed them at the Paraclet. Indeed, there was no external object to engage them, for all that remained of Abeillard was there. For one-and-twenty years, which she had still to live, we hear no more of her, only that she was held in the highest estimation, that she was a pattern of every monastic and christian virtue, and that, ever retaining the tenderest affection of a wise, she prayed unceasingly at her husband's tomb she doctrine, which teaches us to hold an intercourse with the other world, and to believe that friendship may be serviceable even beyond the grave!

I have before observed, that so uniform and unchequered is the monastic life, that the most minute account, or the accurate memoirs, of a nun's life, could not give us the smallest entertainment. And the missortune is, that then there is the least to be said, when the pious recluse conforms best to her holy institute, and is the more perfect woman. It will be a question with some, whether a nun, in any circumstances, merits the appellation of a perfect woman! Perfection, I believe, may be attained in all states; though that being, indubitably, is the most perfect, which answers best to the designs of its creation. Why, or for what end, we were made, is a point not so easily perhaps to be decided.

<sup>&</sup>quot; Notæ Quercet. p. 1195.

Am I not free to chuse my own state of life; to BOOK withdraw, if I please, from the society of mortals; and to live only to myself and to my maker? If I owe any thing to fociety, that duty shall first be cancelled, and my release will be figned. The life of a recluse may be termed felfish, and so it is. But on what principle does heact, who engages in all the pleasures and the pursuits of life? So little real virtue is there, even among those who talk most of philanthropy and of focial kindness, that a few, I think, may be allowed to fecede from the great mass, and look for happiness in the practice of fuch duties as please them best, and where they fancy it may be found. If Europe stands in need of greater population, it may be effected by the suppression of vice, and not by exposing more to its baneful infection. I would open indeed the doors of convents, because an improper use is often made of their locks and bars; but I would compel none to go out, who preferred the holy retirement of a cloifter, to the wide expanse of heaven, and to the anxious and corroding cares of active life. - From these Heloisa was now free; for as her heart separated from the world, her happiness increased. That had been the fource of all her mifery. To the exercises of prayer, meditation, study, and of many other innocent and amufing duties, we will now leave her, and turn to some events of importance, which occupy the period of twenty years, on which I am entered.

BOOK VII.

Innocent the fecond was just dead, having filled the chair of St. Peter thirteen years. He was a Innocent II. man of worth and abilities, but little occurs in the annals of his reign, momentous or interesting. Peter of Leon was chosen, by a powerful faction, to oppose him, and he supported himself for fome time, even in Rome itself, against all the weight of Innocent. It was only death that closed this formidable opposition, which lasted for eight years. Peter had taken the name of Anacletus. His principal friend was Roger duke of Sicily; while the rest of the christian princes espoused the cause of Innocent, who seems to have been canonically elected. - It is curious to behold the two pontiffs, mutually fulminating their anathemas against each other, as ill humor or a show of success gave energy to their operations: but the confequences of these schisms in the christian church were fatal: they relaxed its discipline, and spread the evils of anarchy and civil strife.

It was only fince its aggrandizement, which had now rifen to an enormous bulk, that the papal throne had become an object of cabal and ambition. In the first ages of the church we read of no anti-popes; for who would run after a post of labor, of humility, of mortification, and of fuffering? It was the duty of the first pastor to fet the example of these virtues. But when Rome, from her seven hills, declared herself the mistress

of the world, in a fense more extensive even that ROOK she had known in the days of her greatest martial fplendor, where was the man of ambition whose eye would not be raifed to the gorgeous throne?

VII.

To Innocent fucceeded Celestin and Lucius, Eugenius III. both the fecond of the name, whose joint reigns did not exceed many months; when we come to Eugenius the third, of whom I have already fpoken. He had been a monk of Clairvaux, and a disciple of Bernard. When the saint heared of his promotion, he thus wrote to the cardinals: " God forgive you! What have you done? You " have taken a dead man from his grave, and " replunged him into a crowd and the tumults " of life. Where could your thoughts be, when " you chose this rustic man; when you tore the " axe and fpade from his hand, dragged him to " the palace, raifed him on a throne, and clothed " him in purple? To me the change is ridiculous. " A little man, covered with rags, in a moment " is exalted to a post, from whence he may rule " over princes and bishops, may dispose of king-" doms and empires! There may be something " miraculous, I own, in this event; still, I am " not without my apprehensions that, modest as " he is and habituated to retirement, he will be " little adapted to acquit himself of his high " functions with a becoming dignity "."

Bern. Ep. 237.

BOOK VII. He wrote another letter to the pope himself:

"You are now, says he to him, in possession of

a higher place; but is it more rafe? Has not

danger increased with your exaltation?—How

happy should I die, could I see the church of

God as it was in former ages, when the apostles

let go their nets to take souls, and not to draw

in gold and silver.—In all you do, remember

you are mortal. Let the recollection of the

deaths of your predecessors, some of whom

your own eyes saw expire, ever keep the

awful thought in your mind. The short period

of their glory should tell you, how soon you

may be called to follow them

"."

At his accession Rome was much agitated by the preaching of Arnold of Brescia and the designs of his followers: Eugenius therefore retired, and seeing no prospect of the restoration of peace, continued his journey into France. — The popes, at this time, were often obliged to retire from Rome. It was not at once that the people could be induced quietly to submit to their unnatural jurisdiction; and besides, a very powerful faction, which the anti-popes occasionally headed, gave life to an opposition, which was easily irritated, which great condescensions could not permanently satisfy, and which, at the election of every new

Bern. Ep. 23.

BOOK VII.

master, was ready to petition for redress of grievances, to mutiny, and to rebel. By fleady and cool exertions they might have carried their point, and have torn from the Roman pontiff those infignia of wordly grandeur, which belonged not to him; and in fuch an undertaking, the princes of Europe, it seems, had they known their real interest, would have espoused the cause of the Roman people: but these very princes, and this very people, when the paroxism of good fense was over, were themselves the greatest support of the unchristian power. It was from passion rather and testiness of humor, and not from conviction of its inexpediency, that they opposed its progress: they were ignorant of their own rights, and uninformed of the real principles of christianity, and fo basely superstitious, that the mere threat of excommunication difarmed their justest fury, and reduced them to obedience and the most submissive penitence.

When Eugenius was obliged to fly from Italy he retired to France. Here he might rely on finding a fecure afylum. It is remarkable that this kingdom, which has always been tenacious of its ecclefiaftical privileges, and which gave lefs to Rome than any other christian state, should, on every occasion, have stood foremost to protect the persons of the pontiss, and even then receive them with respect, obey their instruction, court

VII.

BOOK their good will, and support, at their own expense, the splendor of their courts, when they condemned the very principles of their conduct, and could but applaud the opposition of their enemies. The enlarged and enlightened minds of the French nation could ever diftinguish betwixt abuse and principle, and could even then respect the person of their first bishop, when they pitied his behaviour, and viewed the errors, into which the false maxims of his court had impelled him.

Eugenius was the mover of the fecond crufade, and lived to fee its iffue. He was a prince of great private virtues, and the protector of the learned and the good. Peter the venerable has drawn his character: he knew him well, and was too honest to flatter, or to give unmerited praise. He had been with him in Rome. " I never knew, " fays he, a more constant friend, a brother " more fincere, or a more indulgent father. His " ear was patient to liften, and his tongue prompt " to answer; and not as a master to his inferior, " but as an equal to his equal, and sometimes as " an inferior to his lord. There was no pomp, " nothing arbitrary; no majesty in his deport-" ment; justice, humility, and truth had pos-" fessed the whole man. Every petition I made was " either granted, or he refused it upon terms so " reasonable, that I could not complain"." He

<sup>22</sup> Pet. Cluniac. Ep. ad Bern.

fat eight years, and died regretted. Anastalius the fourth, an old and experienced man, succeeded to him, who only saw the end of his first year.

We are come to Adrian the fourth. This was Nicolas Breakspear, born in England, of low and indigent parents. His father, to provide at least for his own wants, became a monk at St. Albans. and left Nicolas and his mother to contend with diffress and penury. The youth was born with abilities, was sprightly, and ingenious, but indigence was a bar to all his wishes, and he could not even procure the common aid of a master in the grammar - school. When hunger pressed, he went to the door of his father's convent, and begged for bread. The proud monk was offended, he blushed that his family should be thus difgraced, and reproaching him one day with his indolence and want of spirit; turned him from the door; with an injunction that he would never return

Nicolas faw, at once, the horror of his fituation; and that he had no friend but his own heart to look to. But if fate had marked him for a beggar; it would be more honorable, he thought, to practife his profession, at a distance from his own country. Forlorn and friendless he wandered about for some time, when an occasion presenting itself; he crossed over into France, and landed, with all the world before him, and

BOOK VII.

Adrian IV.

Vol. II.

BOOK providence his guide. But the horizon lowered round him. What could he do in this foreign land, unprotected and ignorant of the language? He did what he could; he labored when he could find employment, and when necessity compelled him, he begged. Thus fuccessless he travelled on till he arrived at St. Rufus, a convent of regular canons, not far from Avignon in Provence and desire at 1 warmer to a fault.

> Nicolas, as his historian relates, had a good figure, and his countenance was remarkably engaging. He presented himself to the abbot of St. Rufus, afked for employment. He was admitted, as a menial fervant, into the convent. Fortune, he thought, for the first time, now smiled upon him, and he was refolved to co-operate: he labored hard, and strove, by the most active fervices, to render himself agreeable to his employers. His endeavours were fuccessful; and very foon they observed that Nicolas had abilities which might be better employed. They admired his prudence, his judgment, and his cautious referve. Very foon, therefore, the abbot offered him the habit of his order, expressing great approbation of his conduct, and a wish that he would enrol himself among the monks of St. Rufus. With exultation he accepted the proferred dignity, which feemed more than ample enough to fill the wildest schemes, his fancy ever formed. His life was a new process; he studied, he con-

VII.

versed with the learned, and he reflected much. BOOK By application his abilities expanded, and he rapidly advanced in science. His genius was penetrating, and he possessed a fluency of speech which was uncommon, and which culture foon rendered eloquent and perfuafive. His love of retirement and of discipline was also exemplary. Thus he lived, the honor and admiration of his convent, for many years, when the abbot dying, Nicolas Breakspear was unanimously chosen his fucceffor.

It was not long, however, before they repented of the choice they had made. The new abbot was a rigid man, and he exacted a regularity from his monks, which did not pleafe them. They carried their complaints to Rome, and urged many groundless charges against him. Eugenius who was then pope, cited the parties before him. He admired the wildom, the modesty, and the prudence of the abbot, and well faw from what fource their complaints originated. He attempted to reconcile them, and feemed to have fucceeded: but the evil was too inveterate, and foon they repeated their accufations with more violence than before. "I fee, faid Eugenius to the a malecontents, from whence your diffatisfaction " comes: go, and chuse another abbot, who may " please you better? Nicolas shall remain with " me." He staid; and the pope finding him very

VII.

o o k intelligent and expert in business, employed him in his court, and foon after created him cardinal bishop of Albano. He was afterwards sent legate into Norway, on the very arduous business of instructing that barbarous nation, and so well did he execute his commission, and give general fatisfaction in all that he did, that, on the death of Anastasius, in 1154, he was the next day elected pontiff, under the name of Adrian the fourth.

> The tiara had no fooner touched the brows of Adrian, than he felt that fwell of heart, which heroes and fceptered kings are faid to feel.-The faction of Arnold was then powerful; they were guilty of excesses, and had publicly insulted a cardinal of Rome. The pontiff laid the city under an interdict, and refused to take it off, till the factious demagogue and his adherents should be expelled from the walls. For five months the fervice of the church was suspended, when the fenators, compelled by the entreaties of the people, waited on the pope, begged his forgiveness, and promifed to comply with his commands. Adrian was fatisfied. Surrounded by his bishops and cardinals, and the nobility of Rome, he then showed himself to the people: they received him with bursts of the fincerest acclamations: the interdict was withdrawn: and peace and unanimity feemed once more restored to the distracted city.

Frederic Barbarossa, king of the Romans, came to Rome to receive the imperial crown. He was

admitted to an interview with Adrian; but neglect- BOOK ing to take hold of his holines's stirrup, as the ceremonial feemed to require, the pontiff refused to admit him to the kiss of peace. A long conference took place, but Adrian was inflexible: the king then advised with his nobles, when the most ancient of them affured him, that what the pope required had been practifed by his predecessors. Frederic was obliged to submit; and the next day, in the fight of his army, he held the ftirrup, and fullenly walked by his fide, while Adrian advanced about a hundred yards: the pontiff then embraced him, and presented him with the crown, in the church of St. Peter.

Adrian, however, and Frederic, were not of a character to be friends. The former entertained all the romantic ideas of prerogative, which had once filled the breast of Gregory the seventh; and the latter knew too well his own confequence, was too proud, too opinionated, and too informed, to submit to fuch extravagant pretentions. They quarrelled therefore, were reconciled, and again quarrelled, Adrian rather showing submission, than boldly meeting his adversary, till death opportunely intervened, and divided the combatants.

Adrian also contended with William the bad. fecond king of Sicily. The king had applied to him for the confirmation of his dominions, which ha held of the holy fee. This the pope refused; on

which William entered the lands of his holiness, BOOK and laid them wafte with fire and fword. Adrian VII. excommunicated the facrilegious plunderer, and declared his subjects free from their allegiance. The Sicilians immediately fent a deputation to the pontiff, requesting he would accept their submission, and receive their fealty. Adrian put himself at the head of a formidable army, and advanced into the enemy's country: on all fides they submitted, and owned him their master. William, now fenfible no time was to be loft, proposed terms of peace, which were accepted: a treaty was foon after concluded on conditions advantageous to the court of Rome.

He granted to Henry Plantagenet permission to conquer Ireland, and to establish in it the purity of the christian faith. The king had sent a messenger to compliment Adrian on his accession to the triple crown, and formally to present the petition, in question. "No one doubts it, says he in his bull to Henry, and you yourself know, that Ireland, and all the islands, which have embraced the christian faith, belong to the Roman see."—I know not the grounds of this extraordinary pretension, which extended equally to England, though Henry, in this instance, would hardly have admitted the claim. It is the poor boy, who begged bread at St. Albans, that now holds this language to Henry the second of

England! - With the bull Adrian fent a ring, BOOK ornamented with a rich emerald, which fignified that he invested Henry with his kingdom of Ireland.

VII.

It was John of Salisbury, formerly a scholar of Peter Abeillard, and now chaplain to the archbishop of Canterbury, who was employed on this embaffy. Being at Beneventum with Adrian, who loved him as his countryman, and who admired his abilities and his honest virtues, when the discourse, one day, ran on subjects which were mutually interesting, and the pope was unfolding the fecrets of his heart: "My friend, " faid Adrian, it may feem that, in what I told " you of my early life, I had much to fuffer. " Suffer I did; but when I compare it with the " miseries which now furround me, I should ra-" ther fay that, I was then at ease and happy. "Well, I think, would it have been for me, " had I never quitted my native home, or had " I remained a humble monk, buried within " the walls of St. Rufus. Still, I was not free to " oppose the voice of heaven. I have lead a weary " life betwixt the hammer and the anvil; and now "I trust, the Lord will put his hand under the " burden which he has laid upon my fhoulders; " for, indeed, it overpowers me."

On another occasion he asked his friend, what the world faid of him and the Roman court? John frankly answered: "They fay that, Rome shows

## 184 HISTORY OF THE LIVES OF

VII.

" herfelf not fo much the parent, as the stepmother - of the christian world. It abounds with scribes " and pharifees, who will not support with a single " finger the load which they heap on others. They " domineer infolently over the clergy, and give " no example to the faithful. They amass wealth, and load their houses with ornaments of gold " and filver, into which never are the poor ad-" mitted, unless when vanity may be indulged. "Every thing is faid to be venal, even justice " itself. - From this centure a few, I am told, " who do their duty, are exempt. But it is the "Roman bishop who is the great and insupportable " burden. The complaint is, that he builds pala-" ces, while the churches are falling, and that, " while the altars are neglected, he is feen pom-" poully clothed in gold and purple." - "And " what is your own opinion of me?" faid Adrian, not offended by his honest freedom. -"Your question, replied John, disconcerts me of not a little. I must pass for a sycophant, if I " diffent from the public voice; and, if I join " it, I shall fin, perhaps, against that respect "which is due to your holiness." - The pope infifted that he should declare his sentiments. -. If I must speak then, continued he; it is my " opinion that, we should obey your instructions, " though in all things we should not imitate your example. The world applauds and flatters you;

they call you father and lord. If you be our BOOR " father, why exact gifts from your children? VIL "And if our lord: how comes it that even this "Roman populace does not fear you? Holy " father, you are not in the right path. What " has been gratuitously given to you, that do " you give with the fame liberal hand," - Adrian fmiled, and praising the ingenuous candor of the ambaffador, begged that if he heared any more evil faid of him, he would not fail to let him know it. "But as to the contributions, faid he. "which we receive from Christendom, you have " read the fable of the stomach and the mem-" bers: how unjust was their complaint; and how " deservedly did they languish, when the heart " no longer supplied its vivifying influence. "We are the stomach, you the complaining "members." — John now smiled in his turn: shook his head, and departed.

This same John of Salisbury was afterwards the great friend and constant companion of Thomas Becket, whose life he wrote, and who, soon after the death of his master, for his eminent qualities, was chosen bishop of Chartres.

Thus, in the midst of an agitated ocean, of which he himself was the principal mover, comfortless and dissatisfied, lived Adrian the sourth: he saw the end of sour years and nine months, when he died, in 1159, esteemed by the Roman

BOOK VII. court, whose patrimony he had increased by some considerable acquisitions, and praised for his disinterestedness, which he carried to a pitch of affected insensibility; for he permitted his mother, who saw him raised to the popedom, and who survived her son, barely to subsist on the alms she collected in the church of Canterbury.

Alexander the third succeeded to the chair of St. Peter, which he filled for two-and-twenty years; but it is foreign from my purpose to enter on the transactions of this turbulent and interesting period.

State of England

While Rome and the church was governed by the masters I have described, the political hemisphere of Europe continued to be agitated by war and internal diffensions. In England it was a period remarkably melancholy. Stephen had usurped the throne, and though possessed of virtues, which, in other circumstances, might have rendered his reign glorious and his fubjects happy, yet was he necessitated to enter into engagements with his clergy and nobility, from which many fatal evils enfued. He supported himself, however, though he found neither happiness nor tranquillity; while the country was involved in a feries of intestine diforders, to the last degree ruinous and destructive. - In the mean time, young Henry, the rightful heir to the crown, led on by his good genius, was tutored in the school of advertity,

Fleury, vol. xv. Nat. Alex. fæc. xii, from original authors.

where he learned the practice of those great and BOOK fplendid virtues, which would foon raife him to the throne of England, and make him the greatest monarch in the christian world. - Stephen died in 1154.

Lewis the feventh, furnamed the younger, State of because he reigned some years with his father, had been king fince the year 1137. He was early embroiled with the court of Rome, though he was esteemed religious, and even, on some occafions, rather inclined to superstition. But the princes of his realm were particularly turbulent, and among these no one so much as Theobald, count of Champagne, brother to Stephen of England, who had protected Abeillard, and whom the monks extolled as the pattern of all princely virtues. In his character, however, he was mutinous and headstrong, and ever at war with his fovereign. This crime he expiated by charitable donations to the church, and by endowing monasteries: or if his fins were not thus forgiven him, at least he gained friends, whose interest was often most highly serviceable and among these Bernard of Clairvaux stood foremost,

The disturbance and unsettled state of England were to France a fortunate event. The factious and evil fpirit which often paffed out of that country into Normandy, and from thence carried discord and the seeds of war into the neighbouring

BOOK provinces, was too much engaged at home. Lewis had favored the cause of the usurper, and he had motives for it; at all events, it was his interest to keep alive the animosity of both parties, and to draw tranquillity from their diffentions. - The fituation of France, upon the whole, had feldom been fo calm. Religious disturbances there were, part of which I have related, and Rome, by her imprudent interference, fcattered occasional discord. But Suger of St. Denys, who has been called the father of his country, was at the head of public affairs: and France could boaft of many other great and good men, both in church and state.-It was likewise judged a fortunate circumstance, which, as it strengthened the royal domain, fo did it feem to promife a more permanent fecurity, that their king should have married Eleanor, the heiress of Guienne, by which so great an accession was made to their territories. Human forelight, however, which can fometimes read fuccess in a visible combination of events, cannot so control their progress, as to keep at a distance some untoward circumstances, which often obtrude themselves unforeseen, and at once break to pieces the wifest schemes of sublunary policy. Such was this boafted marriage. - But I am detaining my reader on this minute detail, while a larger and more interesting object calls for all his attention,

By the fuccess, which attended the first crusade, and by the victories, which the christian princes, established in the east, afterwards gained, four the feet confiderable states had been formed in the heart of Afia. These were Edessa, Tripoli, Antioch, and Jerusalem. They had subsisted for more than forty years, and their territory and power were greatly extended. Unanimity would have rendered them invincible, and by occasional fuccours from Europe, the strength of the infidel nations might have been broken, and perhaps gradually annihilated. But discord soon divided their councils, and weakened their arms. Baldwin. the third, a youth of thirteen years, reigned in Jerusalem, under the regency of his mother; Josselin de Courtenay was count of Edessa; Raymond de Poitiers, uncle to Eleanor of France. was prince of Antioch; and the great grandson of Raymond of Toulouse, commanded in Tripoli. These princes were all of the French nation. Noradin, fultan of Aleppo, a powerful and active prince, watched with a curious eye every motion of the christian enemy, and seeing their dissensions, he availed himself of the fortunate moment: he laid fiege to Edessa, and carried it. The town was pillaged, the inhabitants masfacred, and the churches polluted.

The fituation of the other states was now alarming. The confederacy, which united them was

BOOK VII. The fecond

BOOK

VII.

broken: the enemy had penetrated into their territories, and feemed to meditate new conquests an infant king sat on the throne of Jerusalem: and it was rumored that the proud conqueror was preparing to carry war against the walls of Antioch.—In these circumstances, of general consternation, it was resolved to apply to Europe for immediate assistance, and ambassadors were dispatched with the weighty commission. This was in the year 1145.

They waited on the pope, who was Eugenius III. He was moved by the melancholy tale, and as the French nation would probably be most interested in the fate of their countrymen in Asia, he wrote a letter to their king, wherein he strongly exhorts him and his people to engage in the holy warfare, and he promises them all the spiritual gifts, and extraordinary privileges, which his predecessor Urban had imparted to the first crusaders.

The messenger found Lewis in the happiest dispositions. Already his mind had entertained the romantic idea; for he had some sins of a grievous nature to expiate, contracted by the cruel massacre of the inhabitants of Vitri in Champagne, and he had a vow to fulfil, which his elder brother, Philip, had made, and had not lived to accomplish. — The letter of Eugenius at once fixed his resolution, and he

ordered a great affembly of the nobles and bishops BOOk of his realm to meet at Vezelai in Burgundy.

The feaft of Easter came, which was the time appointed, and the concourse at Vezelai was numerous and splendid. Bernard of Clairvaux, the oracle of France, had been commanded by his holiness to preach the crusade, and the king had before confulted him as the guide of his confcience, and the foul that was to animate the great undertaking.-There was no church large enough to contain the multitude which thickened every moment: it was therefore proposed that they should move into a neighbouring plain. A scaffold was erected, and Bernard mounted. The king was on one fide, and Eleanor, his queen, a little behind on the other. Before him stood a crowd, thick as the fallen leaves in autumn, which firetched over the plain, and feemed to meet the horizon. Bernard turned his face towards the East: a glow of enthufiasm beamed on his countenance; and he raised his eyes and hands towards heaven.-He first read the pope's letter: it held out the pardon of fins to the crusaders, and the protection of the holy see to themselves, to their wives, to their children, and to their property; and it promifed the crown of martyrdom to those who should fall by the enemies fword. - This finished, he harangued the multitude: he talked of the dignity of the holy land, and of the profanation, to which foon perhaps it might again be exposed; he recounted the glorious achievements.

e

n

le

h

ft

ft

ed

a

1e

in

ch

 $^{1}$ d

of

he

BOOK of their ancestors, whose hardihood had wrested the promifed inheritance from the hands of infidels, VII where many holy penitents had fince flied their tears unmolested, and washed out their fins: this, faid he, the enemy fees, and is mad with fury. "But what an occasion, continued he, is now offered for the pardon of your fins! Truly, it is an invention worthy of the depth of the " divine goodness! None are excluded Murderers, " thieves, adulterers, all are called. - Turn then " your fwords no more against one another: the " common enemy presents his breast to you. " Confess your fins; take up the cross; and march against him. Victory or the palm of martyrdom " awaits you in yonder regions: " and he pointed

> to the Eaft. Work holds and a state of the s His words, though uttered with the emphasis of an inspired man, could not be heared at a distance; but his gestures and animated looks were visible. The infection caught the first ranks; and in a moment, like an electric shock, it pervaded the vast assembly. The king rose; he advanced to the preacher, and took from his hand a white cross, which had been fent him from Rome, and fixed it on his right shoulder. He then attempted to speak, but his voice was drowned in the general uproar. The crowd pressed towards the scaffold. Eleanor then took the cross, and after her the principal nobility. As the rest came up, they

were ferved with croffes; but fo great was the BOOK demand, though a large parcel had been prepared, that foon there were no more to distribute. Still the cry for crosses continued, and the press was as violent as ever. Bernard would not lofe the precious moment, he tore off his habit, which was white; ript it into crosses; and gave them to the multitude. - Never had fuch a scene been before exhibited.

As great preparations were necessary, the expedition was deferred to the next year. In the mean time, another meeting was called at Chartres. Here, among the means which were proposed to give fuccess to the undertaking, the command of the army was unanimously offered to Bernard. He refused it, as became him, urging his ill health, and his inability to marshal foldiers and to march at their head. But he undertook another bufiness to which he was more equal: this was. to rouse the emperor and the German nation to engage in the expedition.

He found Conrad at Francfort. Bernard, in fecret, opened his commission to him, and as he loved his falvation, he exhorted him, not to lose the favorable moment. The emperor was not moved; he had bufiness which engaged him at home; and he told Bernard, that he had heared Palestine was a great way off, and that

Vol II.

le

,

ir

,

V.

W

it

1e

s,

n

1e

u.

ch

m

d

of

e;

le:

a

he

he

S.

ed

to

ral

d.

he

ey

0

VII.

withdrew. But he resolved to visit it. The saint withdrew. But he resolved to try his strength on the Germans, and then to renew his attack on Conrad. He had observed, however, that the Germans were a cool and phlegmatic people, whom common impressions little moved, and that other means than those, must be used, which had inspired his own countrymen with ardor. He would address them in signs and wonders.

The account of the miracles, which he is then faid to have worked, in the different towns in Germany, as recorded by eye-witneffes, is truly aftonishing. I am at a loss what opinion to form; though I cannot perfuade myself to believe, that heaven could have fo manifestly interfered to promote a scheme, at once so extravagant in itself, and which was to end fo disastrously. Bernard, religious, honest, conscientious, as he was, could not possibly have engaged in a fettled plan of deception. I would rather think he was himself imposed on; and that these extraordinary facts were really no more than the common effects of a heated imagination, aided by ignorance and enthusiasm. They are not related with all their circumstances, and the relaters were evidently disposed to think them true.

True or false, the effect was one. The Germans could not withstand the impression. They crowded round the saint, though the language

he spoke was unknown to them, and often so BOOK impetuously, that his own and the lives of his followers were fometimes in danger, while he was giving speech to the dumb, and hearing to the deaf. Every where they enrolled themselves in the facred fervice. - Again he met the emperor at Spire. Bernard addressed him in a public fermon, and in private he held before him the glory of the enterprise, and the spiritual advantages of a penance, fo easy and so honorable. Conrad had heared of the wonders he had worked before his people, and he faw how the torrent ran; he therefore promifed that, he would lay the matter before his council, and that the next day he should know the result. - The holy man was too wife to wait for the next day, or the gool deliberations of its council. While the emperor was at mass, he appeared unasked in the pulpit, and harangued the affembly: then turning to Conrad, he faid: "Soon shall you " also be called before the dread tribunal of your " judge: and what answer will you make, you " who now ungratefully refuse to move a step " in his fervice, when an account shall be " demanded of the territories, of the wealth, of " the crown, of the armies, of the strength of 6 body and courage of mind, which he has 4 beflowed upon you? " - The emperor was firuck, and interrupting the preacher, he exclaimed:

BOOK

"I acknowledge the goodness of God, and will be ungrateful no longer: I now see what is the "will of heaven." — The people shouted, and Conrad advancing took a cross from the hand of Bernard: they then went together to the altar, on which lay a standard, which the saint blessed, and delivered to the emperor.—At the same time Frederick Barbarossa his nephew, then duke of Suabia, and nobles innumerable, pinned the cross to their shoulders.

The time fixed for the departure of the armies was come, and the king of France once more met his people at Estampes. They deliberated on the route which should be taken. Many were disposed to go by fea, as the experience of the first crusade had taught them, that the fair promises of the Greeks were not to be relied on; and in this opinion they were joined by the ambassadors from Roger, king of Sicily, who, in the name of their mafter, offered fhips and all necessary provisions. advice, however, was over-ruled. They knew little of failing, and would not expose themselves to the uncertain element. Besides, it was said, at the view of an army, fo numerous and fo splendid, the pufillanimous Greeks would only tremble. It was therefore resolved to pursue the road which Geoffrey of Bouillon had taken, as far as Conflantinople. Of this the emperor was acquainted, who adopted the fame plan,

In the affembly of Estampes, Suger of St. Denys BOOK was chosen regent of the kingdom, during the absence of the monarch, with the general approbation of all orders of the state. This was the highest compliment which could be paid to the exalted abilities of this excellent man, and the wisdom of his administration fully justified the choice. At any other time, indeed, the step would have been opposed; it would have roused the ambition and the jealoufy of those, who, from birth or station, might have pretended to the important charge: at prefent, the great passions of the nation were engaged in another pursuit.

The German army was first in motion. It confifted of more than a hundred thousand fighting men, and Conrad was at their head. They marched through Hungary, Bulgaria, and Thrace. As they approached Constantinople, it appeared how little the Greeks mere disposed to be their friends. - Manuel Comnenus, grandson to Alexius, who had feen the first crusade, was emperor of the East. He was a prince, as his historians relate, of a very various character; but his good qualities certainly preponderated, as the Latins themselves allow he was not without merit. They charge him, indeed, with perfidy, and with the basest treachery in their regard, while perhaps he was only prudent and politic, as became a wife prince. A hundred

0'3

VII.

VII.

thousand Germans were under the walls of his BOOK capital, brave; enterprifing, and licentious, and they were foon to be joined by as many French! He knew they had not forgotten, what they called the ill treatment of his grandfather; and besides, at the very time, Roger of Sicily, their friend and ally, was in open war with him, defolating his coasts, and plundering his subjects. - However, he received the emperor, whose brother-inlaw he was, with much civility: he praised his defign, his piety, and his courage; but he preffed him much to pursue his journey, as the weather was favorable, and as the transports were in readiness to convey his army into Asia. - In the mean while, he acquainted the infidels of the formidable preparations, which threatened their dominions, and gave them what other information might be most necessary. - Conrad with all his forces croffed the straits.

> While the Imperial army was advancing towards Constantinople, Lewis began his march. The Roman pontiff had just arrived in France, whom he had confulted on the general business of the crusade. Together they had visited the relics of St. Denys, where the king took from the altar the facred banner, called Oriflamme, and his holiness then gave him his benediction, putting, at the fame time, on his shoulders the proper badge of a pilgrim. - The army of France was in nothing

inferior to that of the empire; and its march was BOOK prosperous and unmolested, till they entered the Grecian territories. They advanced, however, and came within fight of Constantinople, about the beginning of October, in 1147.

Notwithstanding the ambushes, the groundless complaints, and the open attacks, by which his army had been daily irritated. Lewis proposed an interview with the emperor, and obtained it. They met at the Imperial palace in Constantinople, and if looks and gestures might be relied on, never was meeting more fincere. They were both about the age of twenty-five, both elegant, both handsome, both affable, and were both magnificently appareled, one as a warrior, the other in his Imperial robes. Manuel displayed before the king the riches of his palace, and the magnificence of his capital. He led him into the temple of St. Sophia; he ravished his ears with music, and his tafte with the delicacies of the Eaft. In this he could gratify his own vanity; he then hinted, as the army had recovered from the fatigue of their march, that it would be proper they should pursue their journey .- Soon after it was rumored that Conrad had gained a great victory, and that the East was submitting to his arms.

Lewis called a council of war. - It was the general opinion, that no more time should be lost. The Germans, they faid, are reaping a full harvest

VII.

BOOK of glory, and with it all the booty of conquered kingdoms. The king, however, hefitated: a large detachment from his army was not yet come up, and he had promifed to wait their arrival. Still the cry was, that they should cross the Hellespont. When Geoffrey, bishop of Langres, a penetrating and shrewd man, whom the artifices of the Greeks had not imposed on, and who, in the report now circulated, faw their crafty defign, rofe in the affembly, and faid: "Before we cross the Hellespont, " my friends, let us be mafters of Constantinople. " Without this, all our attempts will be fuc-" cessless, and this army will perish. We must " depend on the Greeks for provisions, and we " must depend on their guides in a hostile and " impracticable country. The scheme I propose " to you is neither chimerical nor difficult: I have " myself examined the walls of the city, which " are weak and defenceless: or, if you will, we " may feize on the aqueducts, which to them " are the very fources of existence. You have, " besides, a third option: meet them in the " plain, and let those schismatics, debauched and " enervated as they are, feel what it is to contend " with men and with true believers."

Had the found advice been followed, it would have been well for this devoted army; but many difficulties were raifed, and fome faid that, having made a vow to bear their arms against the infidels, destination. — They resolved to proceed; and, in vii. a few days, the whole army was landed in Asia.

Conrad, in the mean time, was advancing to the awful period of destruction. Whatever obstacles the malevolence of the Greeks could lay before him, them he hourly experienced. I They shut their gates, they demanded an exorbitant price for bad provisions, and they cut off the straggling foldiers. But now the difficulties thickened round him. He had left Nicomedia behind him, and was in the enemy's country. His guides, on whom he was obliged to rely, led him forward, with affurances that, in a few days, they should fee before them the wide and fertile plains of Lycaonia. The few days passed. The foldiers were worn down with fatigue, provisions failed them, the country grew more impracticable, and nothing met their eyes but mountains and never-ending forests, when news was brought, that the guides had gone off in the night-time, and that the fultan of Iconium with all his forces was coming down upon them.

The barbarous cries of the enemy were foon heared in the woods. Conrad rode through the ranks of his army, and strove to raise their drooping hearts. They formed into order, as well as the nature of the country would allow, and prepared to meet the coming storm. In a moment, the

VII.

BOOK light-armed Saracens affailed them on all fides; they discharged their arrows, with a fure and unerring arm, and fuddenly wheeling round, broke their ranks, and disappeared. But again they turned to the charge. In vain did the brave Germans strive to come into action. Their armour was cumbrous and unwieldy, and their horses, famished and broken down, had no chance with the winged cavalry of the enemy. They fell by thousands. Conrad seeing all was lost, attempted to rally his men, and to retreat. He had been wounded by two arrows. It was not possible to, effect it. Nor orders could be given, nor was his voice heared. The barbarians came on in greater numbers. He faw his floutest men were fallen. In this diffress, he fled, and was followed by a few who had not quitted his perfon. Among these was Frederic Barbaroffa. His baggage was left to be plundered; and the enemy completed their work by a general flaughter of what remained on the field. It is faid that, before night, not a tenth part of the hundred thouland men who had feen the fun rife, furvived the dreadful butchery; and these were dispersed or wounded. \_ The emperor, however, escaped, and got safe to Nicea, at which place the army of France had just arrived.

It was a melancholy interview. — Here they halted for some days, that the wretched remains of the Imperial army might be collected, and to

fettle the necessary order of the march. Lewis, BOOK young and impetuous, proposed to take the route which had been fo fatal to Conrad; but he at last listened to more prudent counsels. They proceeded, therefore, through Lydia, bearing towards the fea, and arrived, without molestation, at Ephesus. Here the Emperor left them, and embarked for Constantinople. - In a valley, near Ephesus, the army encamped, and celebrated, in martial form, the feaft of Christmas. They then continued their march towards Laodicea, and in a few days, arrived on the banks of the winding Meander.

d

y

r-

ır

,

h

y

d

n

O,

S

r

1

This river, to which poetry has annexed for many pleafing ideas, was then fwollen by the rains, and the torrents of melted fnow which poured down from the mountains. It was besides, at all times, deep, and its banks were steep and rugged. Here the enemy whose spies had watched the progress of the christian army, divided into two bodies, waited their approach. They covered the hills on both fides the river. Lewis affembled his generals: they faw the danger which threatened, but unless they passed the river, it was evident, they must perish by famine. The river was found unfordable. For one whole day they marched up its bank, at every step galled by the arrows of the enemy. On the fecond, they discovered a ford, but the opposite landing was hardly practicable; however, they resolved to attempt it. The

оок

VII.

king ordered the van to advance, and himself took charge of the rear. They advanced. At the fame instant, the cloud broke from the hills, and the enemy, like a torrent, descended on both fides: their cries were terrible, and their bows were bent. The rear faced about: while the van, led on by heroes, drew their fwords, and raising their bucklers over their heads, plunged into the ftream. They passed it, and gained the steep ascent. The enemy, whose weapons had fallen without effect, retired in difmay, and the christians, forming as they came up, advanced into the plain. - Lewis, in the mean time, fword in hand, had attacked the Saracens, who imprudently bore down upon him, and having flaughtered and dispersed them, he returned triumphant to the river, and passed it unmolested. - A general attack was now made on the camp of the enemy, which they forced, and found it full of riches, and well furnished with provisions. - It is remarkable that only one man, Milo de Nogent, was lost on this occasion. This furely was miraculous; and historians relate that a warrior, in filver armour, headed the French through the river, and first affailed the enemy!

The troops were ready to march the next morning, and they left the Meander, proud in the superiority of their strength, and prepared for greater dangers. They arrived at Laodicea. — Not far from this place, on the road to Pisidia, through BOOK which they meant to pass, lay a ridge of mountains, rugged and of very difficult ascent, and behind them was a wide and sertile plain. Lewis ordered the vanguard to take possession of the heights, and there to halt, till the rear and baggage should have reached the summit. They ascended with alacrity; but perceiving from the top of the mountain that the sun was still high, and allured by the beauties of the plain below, they deliberated on the propriety of advancing, and resolved to proceed stowly onwards.

1

The infidels no fooner perceived the imprudent step, than with wonderful alertness they availed themselves of it, and hastening forward on the ridge of the hills, were ready to take poffession of the ground, almost as soon as the van began to descend towards the plain. The rear, in the mean time, fecure and confident, flowly afcended the rugged eminence. Very foon they were roused by the well-known cry, and looking up they discovered the barbarous host, which occupied every defile, and hung upon the mountain. There was no time for reflection. A shower of arrows brought inflant death, while the nearer ranks advanced, and drew the cimeter. The brave Frenchmen received the fudden shock; but the first lines being slaughtered, or overwhelmed by numbers, the next fell back, and a scene of the

OF

vii. determined valor could do, was still attempted: the rear pressed forward, but it was only to certain destruction; the baggage-waggons obstructed their passage, and where they found an outlet, it was to meet the arrows and the swords of the enemy. In the confusion, however, many escaped, and some had the good fortune to join their friends, who already had fixed their tents in the plain. — Night fell.

The king till this moment, with a few brave fellows by his fide, had withflood the dreadful conflict; when darkness closed round him, and he found himself alone. In the heat of the engagement, he had had the presence of mind to order his fecretary, Odon de Deuil, a monk, to get round to the plain, and to inform the van of the fituation of his army. He therefore hoped that affistance might foon be at hand. The wild shrieks of the vaunting enemy, the wailings of the wounded, and the dying groans of men and horses, from all sides pierced his ears. Armed and bleeding he climbed up a tree, and from thence let himself down on the point of a rock, which the little light that remained discovered to him. But the same light soon betrayed him to a party of the enemy. They attacked him: but his armour was proof against their arrows, and his sword soon damped the courage of those who dared to

VII.

come within its reach. They knew him not to be BOOK the king, and they left him. - After some time, he again heared the tread of feet approaching towards him; but foon he perceived they were friends: he made himself known, and coming down from the rock, mounted a horse, which belonged to the party. Heaven still protected him. A while they wandered about, uncertain which way to turn, and hemmed in by danger. A path presented itself, which they followed. and as day began to break, to their joy they discovered the plain beneath them, and soon after met a detachment of the army, which was coming to their affiftance. He entered the camp.

This at least was a fortunate event. how was all their gladness saddened, when the day discovered the extent of their losses! Very few joined the camp, and foon was it evident. that all who were brave or diffinguished had perished or been made prisoners. Nor did the evil stop here: their baggage was taken, their provisions destroyed, and their guides were disperfed. The enemy befides, had recovered heart from the victory, and they might expect fresh encounters and an increase of difficulties. The proud conquerors were feen hovering on the hills.

A council of war was fummoned. The king proposed, as the danger which threatened way

phylia.

imminent and common, that no attention should BOOK be longer paid to rank or office, but that he VIL should be chosen to the command of the army. whom experience and martial conduct had best fitted to the important charge. " I myself, said " he, will fet the first example of obedience: " whatever post be allotted me, I will discharge " it to the best of my abilities."—The proposition was received with applaufe, and they chofe for their general one Gilbert, a foldier of fortune, whose knowledge of the military art was in great estimation. The pressing danger gave unanimity to their votes. Gilbert accepted the command. He then chose his subaltern generals; divided the army into three bodies; and allotted to each general his post. The king was stationed in the

On the road lay two swampy rivulets. The enemy appeared in full force, prepared to dispute the passage. Gilbert ordered some light squadrons to advance: they charged with sury. The Saracens were thrown into disorder: and the christians passed the first rivulet. A general engagement then ensued, in which the insidels were deseated, and a great slaughter made.—From this time they pursued their march without molestation, but in great want of provisions, and arrived at Attalia, a town on the Mediterranean sea. Of such

centre.—They began their march towards Pam-

importance

importance was discipline, and a due subordi- BOOK nation to command.

At this place, the malevolence of the Greeks was more glaring than ever. They were not moved by the recital of the dangers, to which the army had been exposed, nor by the sufferings they had undergone, nor by the flaughter of their friends. They strove to aggravate their misfortunes by cruelty, and to add to their diffress, by exactions the most oppressive: they even refused them the common necessaries of life. - Lewis, with his generals, debated the arduous business. The army was reduced more than one half; they were without horses; the foldiers were fpent with fatigue; the remaining journey to Antioch would require at least forty days; hosts of enemies beset the whole route: but by fea, three days might land them on a friendly There was no room, it feemed, for hefitation. They applied to the Greeks for transports, who readily engaged to suppply them; but after five weeks, very few were ready, and those of the smallest construction.

The army would fubmit no longer to this irritating ulage, They fent to the king, to request, that he and his nobles would make use of the vessels which were ready, and that he would permit them to pursue their march by land, and join him at Antioch. They 'added, they would

VOL. II.

VII. perish ignobly by famine; that they wished him a prosperous voyage; that as to themselves, providence, they trusted, would be their guide; and that, if they must fall, it should be like men and soldiers of Christ.

The prince was much affected. He referred the matter to his council, who agreed that he should accept the proposals of the army. Before he left them, however, he neglected no measure which prudence and his own benevolent heart could fuggest, for their present relief, and future fafety. He gave them two generals, prudent and experienced officers; he distributed large fums of money among the foldiers; he obtained guides for them from the governor of Attalia, and the promise of an escort, which was to conduct them as far as Tarfus in Cilicia; and he purchased all the horses; he could procure, for the officers, and to convey the baggage. Moreover, he obtained leave for the fick and wounded to be lodged in the city, till they should be in a condition to travel; and with his own eyes he faw them properly distributed. After this he failed, and landed in the neighbourhood of Antioch, through a perilous sea, and after three weeks voyage.

The army, foon after the departure of the king, began their march. But hardly had they

VII.

loft fight of the walls of Attalia, when they were BOOK met by the enemy, flushed with new courage, and bold from numbers. The christians withstood their onset, and repulsed them: but they were not in a condition to purfue the flying enemy. The guides and efcort now waited on the generals inform them, that they could proceed no further, that the feafon was too far advanced; and that the infidels, they faw, were too powerful to be refifted by fuch inferior troops. No intreaties could prevail. They fent a messenger to the governor; but all they could obtain was, that they might return, and encamp under the walls, till an occasion offered for transporting them elsewhere. Even here they were not safe; the Saracens daily annoyed them, and the citizens refused them common protection. They died by thousands.

Betwixt three and four thousand resolute men, unable any longer to bear fuch treatment, determined once more to attempt the journey. The infidels allowed them, for fome days, to proceed unmolested. They came to a broad and rapid river; and here the enemy appeared. To pass it was impossible, and to retreat was dangerous. They debated for a moment, and in that moment they were furrounded. The general of the Saracens advanced, and offered them peace and the friendship of his people, if they would

brave men were shocked at the alternative; but as the word flavery makes an impression we are the least able to resist, they chose the former, and bowed their heads to the turban.—What remained of the army at Attalia we hear no more of.

Raymond, uncle to the queen, as I have faid, was prince of Antioch. When he heared that Lewis was landed in his territories, he marched out, in great pomp, to meet him, and conducted him to the city. He was received with all the honors due to his person; and the endearing careffes of Raymond and his nobles feemed, for a moment, to still the troubles of his agitated mind. He had a distressful tale to tell, of perfidious friends, of potent enemies, of perilous adventures, and of routed armies. Raymond had flattered himself, that he should fee a triumphant conqueror, who would bring new glory to Antioch, who would strengthen his present territories, and help to extend them by his arms.

Lewis, indeed, had lost his army; but in a short time he had the comfort to see himself surrounded by a brilliant and martial train of noblemen and knight; part of whom had accompanied him and others had since joined his standard. These the prince of Antioch lavishly courted, and he proposed to the king to engage

in some splendid undertaking, wherein might be BOOK displayed the valor of his brave Frenchmen, and the christian cause be promoted. The conquest of Aleppo, he faid, where refided a proud fultan, would be a glorious achievement. This propofal he urged with the most flattering expressions: he accompanied them with prefents; and the queen joined her efforts to those of her uncle. Lewis could not be prevailed on. He had a vow. he faid, folemnly made to heaven, which could only be discharged at Jerusalem, and thither he must go. But there was another circumstance very heavy on his heart, which rendered his flay at Antioch daily more painful. This he could not mention.

His queen, the elegant, the airy, the fprightly Eleanor, had accompanied the army in all its marches. She had figured in the gay court of Constantinople, had seen the triumphant passage of the Meander, and fortunately was encamped in the plain, during the difastrous defeat on the mountains. The fair pilgrim, it feems, had found but little relish in the perils and toils of war. The king had a thousand cares to engage his attention; and probably she had not found him more agreeable under the helmet and in the dufty plains of Asia, than she had thought him in his own palace, with his cropt hair and shaven chin. By the advice of Peter Lombard, bishop

VII.

BOOK of Paris, who affured him that God detested long hair, he had cut off the profane ornaments. Eleanor rallied him for it; when he observed that, pleasantry on such serious subjects was very ill placed. " I was told, replied she, that " I was to marry a prince; but your Majesty, " I find, is a monk." In matrimony, contempt and hatred are very nearly allied. - During the march, it does not appear, that she had given the king any cause for complaint: but at Antioch, when she began to breathe, when she looked back on what she had suffered, and when gaiety and pleafure courted her fmiles in their most alluring forms, Eleanor could not withfland their impression: she thought, she might justly take fome indulgence for past discomforts, and make up for a year of ennui. - The prince, her uncle, was her principal favorite, and a young Turk, it is faid, named Saladin, beauteous and lovely as the fon of Myrrha. -- Eleanor was married in her fifteenth year, and was now about the age of twenty-four.

The king, naturally benevolent, mild, and religious, felt more poignantly this ungrateful treatment, which, he did not think, he had deferved. Immediately he gave orders to his little army to march, and he fignified to the queen that he expected fhe would be ready to accompany him. This she did not wish to do; and the prince of Antioch, in concert with her, even dared

#### ABEILLARD AND HELOISA. 415.

publicly to infult his majesty, hoping that, in BOOK irritation of mind, he might retire precipitately, and be satisfied to visit Jerusalem alone. Lewis took the advice of his friends, who were of his opinion, that the queen should, by no means, be left behind, to dishonor herself and disgrace the majesty of her husband. — The nobility with their men lay encamped without the walls. It was agreed that, the next night, one of the gates should be kept open. The king compelled Eleanor, who was not prepared for the adventure, to accompany him, and all together they took the road towards Jerusalem.—Here he found the emperor Conrad, who, having wintered at Constantinople, was first arrived, and waited his coming.

Jerusalem received him with every mark of distinction. Its young king Baldwin, and his mother Melisenda, were delighted: they had apprehended, with some reason, that the intriguing and selfish spirit of Raymond might have detained him at Antioch.

The ceremony of vifiting the holy places was first to be discharged. This the king, with all his followers, in solemn pomp, performed, habited like pilgrims, and accompanied by the prince of Jerusalem and his court.—Some expedition, they then thought, should be undertaken against the insidels, and a grand assembly was ordered to meet at Ptolemais. The day was fixed.

Palestine had not yet seen so gorgeous a show.

The emperor came with his attendant bishops; and the cardinal legate, with Henry duke of Austria, his brother, Frederick duke of Suabia, his nephew, with many other powerful lords and gentlemen. — Lewis was accompanied by an equal number of bishops, and by a cardinal legate, by Robert count of Dreux, his brother, by Henry of Champagne, his son-in-law, by Thiery count of Flanders, and many other distinguished noblemen. — Baldwin of Jerusalem,

It was debated, what was most proper to be done for the welfare of the christian republic in Asia. Various measures were proposed: but the siege of Damascus was finally determined. The conquest of this place, one of the most considerable in Syria, would at once give glory to their arms, and be generally beneficial; for from hence the Saracens made daily incursions into the christian territories. — Orders were given for the troops to march. They were divided into three corps, commanded by their respective monarchs. The young king of Jerusalem took the post of danger: he wished to signalize his prowess before his royal visiters, and he led on to the attack.

and his mother, were not less splendidly attended.

It is not my intention to detail the particulars of this memorable fiege. The christians performed feats of wonder; nor were they less valiantly opposed. But when it seemed that the place

BOO'K

must soon surrender; whether by some strange fatality, or secret treason, or jealousy among the commanders, the besiegers were drawn off from that side of the walls which could resist no longer, and were directed to make a fresh attack on the opposite quarter. — Here nothing could succeed. They were exposed to the darts of the enemy; the walls were strong; the springs dried up; and no forage could be found for the horses. In this extremity, the European princes resolved to raise the siege: they saw they were betrayed, or that heaven, whose battles they wished to sight, was not disposed to favor their romantic efforts.

The emperor foon after returned to Germany.

Lewis remained in Palestine till the following spring, when he embarked for Calabria, visited Rome, and arrived in his own kingdom in 1149, after an absence of two years, worn down by anxiety, and only rich in the reputation of having engaged in a wild project, which could not have ended more disastrously. — From this time, the condition of the Oriental christians became daily worse. The infidels, seeing the successes efforts of numerous armies, laughed at the vain attempt; and on a nearer view, began to despise those mighty warriors, the bare mention of whose names had once filled them with terror.

I have followed, in this account of the crufade, Fleury, Daniel, and Maimbourg, who had confulted the best fources.

BOOK VII.

Thus have I described the principal events up to the year 1160, and exhibited the general features of the period, in church and state. Little else remains; only as the reader has seen much of Bernard, of Peter the venerable, and of Suger, he may wish to know how long they survived the transactions I have related. They did not long survive.

Death and character of Suger.

Suger, abbot of St. Denis, and minister of state, died in 1152, a little more than two years after the return of his mafter from the holy land. He had strenuously opposed that mad expedition; but what chance had cool reason and political difcernment, against the enthusiasm and wonderworking powers of his friend and contryman, the abbot of Clairvaux? The kingdom he administered with prudence, firmness, and integrity. Great as were the foreign expenses, his master was always supplied with money, and the subject at home was not oppressed. By every argument, he strove to avert the fatal divorce betwixt Lewis and his queen; and as long as he lived, it was not accomplished. He saw the evils that probably must fall on his country, by permitting fo large a territory, as was Eleanor's dowry, to be again fevered from the royal domain: but he could not fee that, in the first six weeks, she would marry Henry of England. Suger was the Sully of France in the twelfth century.

## ABEILLARD AND HELOISA. 219

As abbot, his life was exemplary, and his BOOK manners irreproachable. In the beginning of his administration, having found his monastery undisciplined and enervated, he was himself, then unused to conventual regularity, carried down the stream: he was prodigal in his expenses, sumptuous in his table, and in his drefs and attendants gay and fplendid. In five years the gaudy fcene was over. He reformed his abbey; and was himfelf the first to set the example of that rigid discipline and fevere morality, which alone give perfection to the monastic institute. Suger had formed a plan of quitting every civil employment, and was just then retiring to St. Denys, when the unanimous voice of the people called him to the regency of the state.

He was of low extraction. His figure wanted comeliness, and his countenance dignity: but his mental qualities were of a superior cast. His understanding was comprehensive, his judgment sound, his memory prodigious, and his penetration intuitive. When he spoke, there was grace in his manner, and sluency in his expression; nor did any subject seem to him either new or embarrassing. These qualities were still heightened by a modesty without affectation, and a gravity without sternness. He was mild, beneficent, disinterested, and friendly. The king loved him as his parent; the nobility respected his abilities;

BOOK VII. and the people adored his virtues. He died in his feventieth year. The king attended his funeral, and wept over his bier. He has been called the father of his country \*\*.

Death and character of Bernard.

The year following, in 1153, died also Bernard, abbot of Clairvaux.-I have related enough of his life, to convince the reader that he was truly an extraordinary man. Thus does an eminent writer, well qualified to appreciate merit, fpeak of him ". Bernard, fays he, I regard as the prodigy of his age.-Heaven, it feemed, had with pleafure, affembled in him alone, all the endowments of nature and grace. He was defcended from noble and virtuous parents. In his person he was handsome, and his mind was perfect. Sprightly and penetrating, he could difcern with accuracy, and could judge with confidence. His heart was generous, his fentiments elevated, his resolution unshaken, and his will ever upright and ever constant.—Nor had art neglected to improve the work of nature. His education was the best which the age could give: early he had been instructed in religion, and in the human sciences. With much reflection he daily studied the word of God, and he read the holy fathers. In the pulpit he was animated and nervous; but his language was too flowery, though adapted to the tafte of his hearers. The same defect pervades

Daniel, vol. iii. \* Fleury, Disc. 8.

his writings. - We must not forget that Bernard BOOK . was a faint; for his humility was profound, his zeal ardent, his charity unbounded, and the gift of miracles marked him for the favorite of heaven. -The portrait, perhaps, is too highly colored.

But if the historian may be permitted to break through that dazzling glare, which miracles and his inspired air threw round him, he will discover some shades in the character of Bernard; and where have we feen humanity without them? They help to form its beauty. - He was auftere, meddling, and acrimonious, zealous over much.-His aufterity began with himfelf, and extended to others: when not called on he interfered in the concerns of all men: he was bitter, and even abusive, against those he esteemed the enemies of truth: and we have beheld his zeal, precipitate and inflexible, till it had involved two kingdoms in the most disastrous undertaking. When he was blamed as the author of these misfortunes, his reply was; that the judgments of heaven were inscrutable, and that the fins of the crusaders had brought ruin on their arms. But could he think, when, in the plain of Vezelai, he inlifted the banditti of France, that their hearts were converted; or that the hundred thousand Germans, whom the fight of his miracles compelled to arms, would not be guilty of a hundred thousand excesfes? The conduct of the first crusaders had clearly faid, what was to be expected from fuch expeditions.

BOOK His ascendency over the minds of men, and his fway in the councils of Europe were aftonishing. VII. From the retirement of his cell, in the vale of Clairvaux, abstracted from the world, and converfing with heaven, he was called to the courts of princes, to decide their quarrels, or to aid them with his advice. Nor could it be faid, that he was there displaced or out of character: his own personal confideration gave him a respect above titles, and an influence which neither years, nor abilities, nor office could beflow.-At Rome, of whose prerogative he was too lavish an admirer, Bernard was the foul of defign, and the fpring of action. Never did the holy fee possess a truer friend. Over Eugenius, who had been his disciple, he retained an authority, which, perhaps, was more honorable to the scholar, than the master. If Suger was less a faint than Bernard, the former, I think, had a founder judgment, was a better politician, a more experienced minister, and, perhaps, a more useful citizen. - The abbot of Clairvaux died in

> "honors his memory on the day of his death; and the learning, the zeal, the piety, which his

> his fixty-third year, having founded and annexed to his order, feventy-two monasteries in different parts of Europe. "The church, concludes Fleury,

<sup>&</sup>quot; writings difplay, have juftly given him a place,

<sup>&</sup>quot; though the laft, among the fathers of the church."

#### ABEILLARD AND HELOISA. 223

Within three years from this time, in-1156, BOOR expired the other luminary of France, Peter the venerable. - Already I have faid fo much of this Death of good man, and with a view of depicting his Peter the character, that more cannot be necessary. For thirty-five years he governed his order with fingular prudence, which then confifted of more than three hundred houses, and two thousand dependent convents. The appellation of venerable which he acquired, was not the confequence of years; for he was chosen abbot in his twentyeighth year, and died in his fixty-third; but it was due to his grave deportment, to his exemplary life, and to his great erudition. He entered little into political bufiness, only as far as the interest of Cluni was concerned. His abilities were less brilliant than those of St. Bernard, his friend and his admirer; but his fense was found, and his judgment unbiaffed. Nature and her laws were not obedient to his voice, for Ido not find that he worked any miracles; but his dispositions were mild, his heart benevolent, and his hand was ever open to relieve the distressed. - He wrote against the Jews, and he engaged one Robert, an Englishman, archdeacon of Pampeluna in Spain, well versed in the Arabic language, to translate the Koran of Mahomet into Latin. He rewarded the translator munificently, and himself undertook to refute the abfurd rhapfody.-Peter

VII. celebrated man of his order, and with him fet the fun of Cluni ...

Hardly, I think, can it be faid with propriety that an age is dark, which possessed three such men as I have now described. Nor did they stand alone. Others there were in Italy, Germany, and England, not equally eminent; but whose abilities were great, whose learning was not contemptible, and whose virtues were exemplary. These I would with pleasure exhibit, were not the ground already too thickly fet with objects .-It is often the practice of modern writers to describe unfavorably, the character of passed times, either because to blame is more congenial with their humor than to give praise; or because they are led by the prejudices of others, which they have not taken care to shake off; or because to copy some favorite author is much less laborious than to fludy the original; or because they may fancy, that themselves and the age they live in, will appear more resplendent, in proportion to the shades which are thrown on the more distant object. At all events, the twilight of the twelfth century (for fuch at least it may be called) was necessary to prepare the rising of that auspicious day, whose brilliant splendor now furrounds us. With our posterity, perhaps,

Fleury, vol. xiv. xv.

#### ABEILLARD AND HELOISA, 225

it will be made a question, whether as yet we BOOK have passed its dawn.

VII.

In the peaceful cloifters of the Paraclet, where Heloifs. we had left Heloifa, there she still was after a period of twenty years. She had not engaged in its turbulent scenes: but from her cell she might have contemplated their progress, and bewailed their unfortunate exit. The death of Peter the venerable would be a real loss.—It may be remembered that, in her correspondence with Abeillard on the origin and duties of the monastic institute, fhe had strongly urged the propriety of mitigating its feverity in favor of women. Not then fo fervent, or less warmed by that enviable enthufiasm which can find delight in pain and felfdenials, fhe thought it reasonable to plead for every innocent indulgence: was not the path of life sufficiently beset with thorns? And was the traveller with his own hands to add to their number? In process of time, as circumstances altered, or as the cares of office, perhaps, foured her mind, or as it hardened by age, Heloisa adopted a more rigid plan, the constitutions of which she herself framed, and introduced into the rule of the Paraclet. The substance of these constiutions I will give to the reader: he may have heared much of nuns, and not know in what practices their lives are spent.

Vol. II.

VII.

BOOK Having observed that all religious instruction must take its origin from Christ, who practised the virtues of poverty, of humility, and of obedience, fhe proceeds. I.—" We strive, as far as in us lies,

" to imitate the lives of the first christians, by

" having all things in common. What is given to

" us, that we divide as far as it will go. If there

" be not enough for all, they are first served who

" want it most."

II .\_ " Our dress is ordinary and simple, made of

" the coarfest wool and flax.—But in this, as in our " beds, if fometimes we have not all that may

" feem necessary, let it be remembered, that we

" have renounced the world and its conveniences." III .\_ " We eat the bread that is laid before us.

" fometimes wheaten, and fometimes made of

a other grain. In the refectory our common fare

" is legumes, or fuch roots as the garden gives us.

" Milk, eggs, and cheefe are rarely ferved; and fish

" only when the kindness of our neighbours sup-

" plies us. Our wine is mixed with water.—At fup-

" per only falad or fruit is allowed us; and when

" these fail, we bear it without murmuring."

IV. - "Only the abbess and prioress have any

" right to command. Without their permission no

" one can presume to go out of the enclosure, or

" to fpeak, or to give, or to receive, the

" fmallest trifle. "

### ABEILLARD AND HELOISA. 227

V.— "Would our strength permit us; we should "till our lands, and live by labor. But we cannot.

" We therefore call in the aid of lay-brothers.

" and lay-fifters. - Any alms, which the piety of

" the faithful offers, we do not refuse."

VI.—"We rife before break of day, and proceed to the church to matins.—After this, according to the feason of the year, either we retire, for a short time, to our beds, or we meet in the chapter-house, to read or work.—When the bell rings, we again go to church, where prime

" bell rings, we again go to church, where prime
" is faid, and after that, the morning-mass.—Again

" we assemble in the chapter-house to confess

" publicly our faults, and to receive correction.
"Here, on folemn feafts, a fermon is preached.—

" After chapter, if there be time, we read till

" tierce or nine o'clock. — Then follow high-mass and fext, after which we read or work till none

" or three o'clock. — At three we take our meal,

" filent and recollected. - This finished, we return,

" giving thanks to God; to the church; and from

" thence to the chapter-house, where one of the

" nuns, whose duty it is, makes a discourse to

" the affembly. - If there be time, we then remain

" in the cloisters till the hour of vespers. These are always sung. — After vespers we return to the

" cloisters, where, in filence and meditation, we

" wait the hour of collation or supper. - After

Q 2

BOOK VII. BOOK VII.

" fupper, complin is fung in the church, and we remain in prayer, till a fign is given, at which all rife from their knees; and then fprinkled

" with holy water by the fuperior, they proceed " in procession through the cloisters to the dor-

" mitory, where each one turns to her bed, and

" bleffing God, retires to reft "."

Thus lived Heloisa and her nuns; and with some accidental variety, the same continues to be the rule of most orders of religious women. It is severe and uninviting; but the mind habitually forms to any thing. The fortunate circumstance is, that every moment of the day has its allotted duty: there is no time for idle speculation, and consequently no time for the ingress of those ideas, from which ennui, uneasiness, and misery spring. Their days flow uniformly on, but rapidly from uniformity; the stream is not russed, for their desires are composed, and their affections even; and they meet their last hour with more than philosophic fortitude:

To founds of heav'nly harps they die away, And melt in visions of eternal day.

While the abbess had been laudably engaged in new-modelling the internal government of her convent, she had not neglected its more

<sup>27</sup> Op. Abeil. p. 198.

## ABEILLARD AND HELOISA. 229

worldly concerns. I before mentioned the bulls BOOK she had obtained from Rome to confirm to the Paraclet fuch donations as had been made to it. To these afterwards some very considerable additions were made, all which received the fame folemn fanction. I find a bull of Eugenius, which specifically mentions every acre of land and every tenement, belonging to the abbey in 1147, one of Anastasius, and three of Adrian. The latter feems particularly well-affected to the Paraclet; he speaks in high terms of the virtuous lives of Heloifa and her fifters; he grants them the petition? they had made for leave to bury within the precincts of the convent the bodies of their benefactors; and he denounces the indignation of God and of the holy apostles against all those, who shall dare to infringe or to oppose the letter of his mandate . . . Nothing more was necessary to perfect this establishment, and to give it a stability which, in the ordinary course of human events, might: and had indeed : last for ages.

It was now the year eleven hundred and fixty- Her death. three, and Heloisa had entered into her sixtythird year. - She fell fick. - History tells us not what her disorder was, nor does it relate the circumstances of her death. A more modern author only fays that, when she saw her end approaching, Op. Abeil. p. 353.

VII. round her; exhorted them to submission and to the practice of every christian virtue; and then ordered that her body should be laid in the tomb by the side of Abeillard. Soon after she expired. It was on a Sunday, and on the seventeenth of May.

Her obsequies were honored by the most splendid attendance of the nobility and clergy of the province: a solemn service was performed for the repose of her soul; and her dying request was faithfully executed. They saw the tomb of Abeillard opened, which had been shut for twenty years, and in it were laid the cold remains of the once lively, learned, religious, and benevolent Heloisa.

I will not attempt to delineate her character, as it could only be a repetition of what, perhaps I have already too much repeated. — On her monument were engraved four lines, barbarous and bad indeed!

Hoc tumulo abbatissa jacet prudens Heloissa. Paraclitum statuit, cum Paraclito requiescit. Gaudia sanctorum sua sunt super alta polorum; Nos meritis precibusque suis exaltet ab imis.

They will not bear to be translated. — To commemorate the learned abilities of Heloisa, it

Not. Quercet. p. 1195. Vie d'Abeil. p. 121.

#### ABEILLARD AND HELOISA. 231

VII.

is faid that, for many years after her death, the BOOK nuns of the Paraclet, at the feast of Whitsuntide, performed the fervice of the day in Greek ". The practice only ceased, when the knowledge of the language was loft amongst them.

But in the course of fix hundred years, in the different changes, which the repair of buildings and other events have introduced, care has been taken not to separate their dust. In 1497 the tomb was moved, and again in 1630, when the bones of the lovers, if so they may be called, were found entire. They were distinguished by their fize.

The abbey of the Paraclet feems ever to have retained a great respect for the memory of their illustrious founders; though a traveller, who was there, not many years ago, fays that the community knew little of the affecting part of their flory ". - The late abbefs, of the house of Rochefoucauld, in 1766, requested some gentlemen of the academy of Paris to compose an epitaph for their tomb. She was difgusted with the barbarous lines that hitherto had marked the stone, where Abeillard and Heloifa lay. She did not live to fee it executed; but the epitaph was written. Her successor, I believe, the present abbess, Madame de Roucy, pursued the laudable

<sup>30</sup> Vie d'Abeil. p. 328.

Annual Register, anno 1768.

BOOK defign, and on a marble stone engraved the VII. following elegant inscription.

Hic

Sub eodem marmore jacent,

Hujus monasterii

Conditor, Petrus Abeillardus,

Et Abbatissa prima, Heloisa:

Olim Studies, ingenio, amore, infaustis nuptiis

Et pænitentia;

Nunc æterna, quod speramus, felicitate

Petrus Abeillardus obiit vigesima prima
Aprilis, Anno 1142:
Heloifa, decima septima Maii 1163.
Curis Carolæ de Roucy, Paracleti
Abbatissæ

1779.

#### IN ENGLISH.

Here

Under the fame stone repose Peter Abeillard, the founder, And Heloisa, the first abbess, Of this monastery.

Alike in dispositions and in love,

They were once united in the same pursuits,

The same satal marriage, and the same repentance;

And now, in eternal happiness,

We trust, they are not divided.

Peter Abeillard died the twenty-first of April, 1142:

eter Abeillard died the twenty-first of April, 1142: And Heloifa the seventeenth of May, 1163.

# LETTERS

or construct OF

# ABEILLARD and HELOISA.

From the collection of Amboife.

The letter of Abeillard to his friend, which gave occasion to the following correspondence, should properly have a place here: But, as the whole substance of it is contained in the foregoing history, and it is besides extremely long, I take the liberty to omit it. They who have read the history, will not want it; and they who have not, would be little disposed to read the tedious memoirs from which it is taken.

# LETTÉRI

#### HELOISA TO ABEILLARD.

A LETTER of consolation you had written to a friend, my dearest Abeillard, was lately, as by chance, put into my hands. The superscription, in a moment, told me from whom it came; and the sentiments I felt for the writer, compelled

Indeed, you amply fulfilled the promife you there made to your friend, that, in comparison of your own, his misfortunes should appear as nothing, or as light as air.-Having exposed the perfecutions you had suffered from your masters, and the cruel deed of my uncle, you were naturally led to a recital of the hateful and invidious conduct of Albericus of Reims, and Lotulphus of Lombardy. By their fuggestions, your admirable work on the Trinity was condemned to the flames, and yourfelf were thrown into confinement. This you did not omit to mention. The machinations of the abbot of St. Denys, and of your false brethren, are then brought forward; but chiefly, for from them you had most to suffer, the calumnious aspersions of those false apostles, Norbert and Bernard, whom envy had roufed against you. It was even, you fay, imputed as a crime to you, to have given the name of Paraclet, contrary to the common practice, to the oratory you had erected. In

fine, the incessant persecutions of that cruel

tyrant of St. Gildas and of those execrable monks, whom yet you call your children, and to which, at this moment, you are exposed, close the melancholy tale of a life of sorrow.

Who, think you, could read or hear these things, and not be moved to tears? What then must be my situation? The singular precision, with which each event is related, could but more strongly renew my forrows. I was doubly agitated, because I perceived the tide of danger was still rising against you. Are we then to despair of your life? And must our breasts, trembling at every sound, be hourly alarmed by the rumors of that terrible event?

For Christ's sake, my Abeillard, and he, I trust, as yet protects you, do inform us, and that repeatedly, of each circumstance of your present dangers. I and my sisters are the sole remains of all your friends. Let us, at least, partake of your joys and forrows. The condolence of others is used to bring some relief to the sufferer; and a load laid on many shoulders is more easily supported. But should the storm subside a little, then be even more solicitous to inform us, for your letters will be messengers of joy. In short, whatever be their contents, to us they must always bring comfort; because this, at least, they will tell us, that we are remembered by you.

How pleasing are the letters of absent friends,

Seneca, I remember, teaches us by his own example. "I thank you, fays he to his friend "Lucilius, for your frequent letters. By this "you do all you can to be in my company. "The moment I open your letters, I fee Lucilius "before me." And, indeed, if the portraits of our friends can give us pleasure, and ease the pain of absence, by the weak impressions they make; what may not be said of letters, which speak the genuine sentiments of the dear absent friend?—God be thanked! no invidious passion can forbid, and no obstacle can hinder this manner of your being present with us. On your side let no indifference, I pray, be a retardment to it.

You wrote to your friend a long epiftle, and to alleviate his misfortunes you recounted your own. By this too plain narration, intended for his comfort, you have added much to our forrows. The hand which poured balm into his wounds, only ferved to widen ours: it even added some fresh gashes to our long-bleeding. bosoms. And will you, who are so anxious to ease the pain, which other hands have given, refuse to heal the wounds yourself have made? You complied, I own, with the defires of a friend and of a fellow-creature; and in fo doing, the great duties of friendship and of fociety were fulfilled: but to us, Abeillard, you are bound by a stronger tie. We are not your friends only and your fellow-creatures: the

tenderest affections have united us, for the inhabitants of the Paraclet are your daughters. Even, if nature or religion can suggest a more tender name, to that we are entitled.

To prove this, no arguments are necessary. Even were we filent, the walls of our monaftery would proclaim it. Under God, you alone were the founder of this place; you alone erected its oratory; and you alone established its congregation. You raised nothing upon the foundations of others. Whatever the eye fees is your erection. This folitude, the retreat of wild beafts, and the receptacle of thieves, had not known the habitations of domestic life. But you, on the very dens of those beafts, and in the lurking holes of robbers, where the name of God had to been heard, raised a temple to his name, and you dedicated it to his Holy Spirit. To this the donations of kings or princes did not contribute: you wanted not their affiftance; for your own powers were great and ample. From all quarters an almost infinite number of scholars was feen crowding to be instructed by you. They supplied whatever else was necessary. Even churchmen, who had been used to live on the benefactions of others; whose hands were ever open to receive but not to give; became here profuse, and even importunate to pour in their contributions.

Our new establishment, therefore, is strictly

yours. But, can the young plant prosper, if it be not often watered with peculiar care? We are women, Abeillard, by nature weak and delicate. Thus, had our fociety been long formed, it would still be exposed to much danger. But now, if you give us not all your care and all your diligence, how shall we brave the storm? The apostle says: " I have planted, Apollo has " watered, but God has given the increase." He is writing to the Corinthians, whom he had lately converted to the christian faith: his own disciple Apollo, had then given them further instructions; and divine grace had completed the work. But you cultivate a vineyard, which you have not planted; and your facred admonitions are lost on an ungrateful foil. I speak of the monks of St. Gildas, of which you are abbot. Rather recollect then what you owe to us. You preach to them, but you preach in vain. Your words are pearls which you throw to fwine. The treasures, which are lost on them, should be kept for us, who are docile, who are obedient. And you, who are fo prodigal to your enemies, do reflect on what you owe to your own children .- But I will fay nothing of others: think only how much you are indebted to me. Whatever obligations bind you to the devout part of my fex, are all concentered in your Heloifa.

You need not be told, how many treatifes

the holy fathers of the church have written for our instruction, and how earnestly they have labored to inform, to advise, and to confole us. Must my ignorance suggest knowledge to the learned Abeillard? - Long ago, indeed, when my mind was weak in the first impressions of duty, your neglect of me surprised me not a little. Neither moved by religion, nor by love for me, nor by the example of the holy fathers, did you ever aim to fix my fluctuating mind: not even when long grief had worn me down, did you come to fee me, or even fend me one line of comfort. Yet, furely after the bond of matrimony had cemented our union, your obligations to me became more binding. Who does not know how immoderate was the love I bore you; and from thence have I no pretentions to a peculiar return?

1

f

r

e

e

£

r

F

f

u

r

.

d

e

r

r

:

t

r

S

My Abeillard, you well know how much I lost in losing you: and that infamous act of treachery, which, by a cruelty before unheard of, deprived me of you, even tore me from myself. The loss was great indeed, but the manner of it was doubly excruciating. — When the cause of grief is most pungent, then should consolation apply her strongest medicines. But it is you only can administer relief: by you I was wounded, and by you I must be healed. It is in your power alone to give me pain, to give me joy, and to give me comfort. And it is

you only that are obliged to do it. \_ I have obeyed the last tittle of all your commands; and fo far was I unable to oppose them, that, to comply with your wishes, I could bear to facrifice myself. One thing remains, which is ftill greater, and will hardly be credited: my love for you had rifen to fuch a degree of phrenzy, that to please you, it even deprived itself of what alone in the universe it valued, and that for ever. No fooner did I receive your commands, than I quitted at once the habit of the world, and with it all the reluctance of my nature. I meant that you should be the sole possessor of whatever I had once a right to call my own.

Heaven knows! in all my love it was you, and you only I fought for. I looked for no dowry, no alliances of marriage. I was even infensible to my own pleasures: nor had I a will to gratify. All was absorbed in you. I call Abeillard to witness. - In the name of wife there may be fomething more holy, fomething more imposing; but the name of mistress was ever to me a more charming found - The more I humbled myself before you, the greater right I thought, I should have to your favor; and thus also I hoped the less to injure the splendid reputation you had acquired.

This circumstance, on your own account, you did not quite forget to mention in the letter to

your

your friend. You related also some of the arguments I then urged, to deter you from that fatal marriage; but you suppressed the greater part, by which I was induced to preser love to matrimony, and liberty to chains. I call heaven to witness! Should Augustus, master of the world, offer me his hand in marriage, and secure to me the uninterrupted command of the universe, I should deem it at once more eligible and more honorable to be called the mistress of Abeillard, than the wife of Cæsar. The source of merit is not in riches or in power: these are the gifts of fortune; but virtue only gives worth and excellence.

The woman, who prefers a rich to a poor man, shows she has a venal soul. In a husband, it is his wealth, and not himself, which she admires; and to her, who marries with this view, some reward may be due, but no gratitude. It is clear that I have not misconstrued her intentions: propose but a richer match and if not too late, she will embrace it with ardor. The truth of my opinion the learned Aspasia has confirmed, in a conversation with Xenophon and his wise, as related by Æschines the disciple of Socrates. When to esset a reconciliation betwixt them, she had proposed this reasoning, Aspasia thus concludes: "When you have got so far, as mutually to be convinced that there lives not a

" better man, and a more fortunate woman, all " your thoughts will be directed to produce the " greatest good: Xenophon will be happy in " the reflection that he is married to the best " of women, and she; on her side, that her " husband is the best of men."

These sentiments are beautiful: they seem the production rather of wisdom herself, than of philosophy. - But in the married state, should this favorable opinion be even grounded on error, how charming is it to be thus deceived! It produces love, and on this rests the surest pledge of mutual fidelity; while purity of mind co-operates far more efficaciously than her fifter virtue.

But that happiness which in others is, sometimes, the effect of fancy, in me was the child of evidence. They might think their husbands perfect, and were happy in the idea; but I knew that you were fuch, and the universe knew the fame. Thus the more my affection was secured from all possible error, the more steady became its flame. Where was found the king or the philosopher that had emulated your reputation? Was there a village, a city, a kingdom, that did not ardently wish even to see you? When you appeared in public, who did not run to behold you? And when you withdrew, every neck was stretched, every eye fprang forward to purfue you. The married and the unmarried women, when Abeillard was away, longed for his company;

and, when he was prefent, every bosom was on fire. No lady of distinction, no princess, that did not envy Heloisa the possession of her Abeillard.

You possessed, indeed, two qualifications, a tone of voice, and a grace in finging, which gave you the control over every female heart. These powers were peculiarly yours; for I do not know that they ever fell to the share of any other philosopher. To fosten, by playful amusement, the stern labors of philosophy, you composed several fonnets on love, and on fimilar fubjects. These you were often heard to fing, when the harmony of your voice gave new charms to the expression. In all circles nothing was talked of but Abeillard. even the most ignorant, who could not judge of composition, were enchanted by the melody of your voice. Female hearts were unable to refift the impression. Thus was my name soon carried to distant nations, for the loves of Heloisa and Abeillard were the constant theme of all your fongs. What wonder, if I became the subject of general envy!

You possessed, besides, every endowment of mind and body. But alas! if my happiness then raised the envy of others, will they not now be compelled to pity me? And surely, even she, who was then my enemy, will now drop a tear at my sad reverse of fortune.

You know, Abeillard, I was the great cause of your misfortunes; but yet I was not guilty. It is the motive with which we act, and not the event of things that makes us criminal. Equity weighs the intention, and not the mere actions we may have done. - What, at all times, were my dispositions in your regard, you, who knew them, can only judge. To you I refer all my actions, and on your decision I rest my cause. I call no other witness.

But how has it happened, tell me, that, after my retreat from the world, which was your own work, I have been fo forgotten or fo neglected, that you never came either personally to recreate my folitude, or ever wrote to confole me? If you can, account for this conduct; or I must tell you my own fuspicions, which are also the general fuspicions of the world. It was passion, Abeillard, and not friendship that drew you to me: it was not love, but a more base propension. The incitements to pleafure removed, every other more gentle fentiment, to which they might feem to give life, has vanished with them.

This, my friend, is not so much mine, as the general conjecture: It is the common fuspicion of all who know us. Would to God, it were I only who thought it; and that your own love could devise some excuse which might ease my pain! Were it in my power, even I would willingly invent some pretext, which by seeming to lessen the pretensions I have to your notice,

might extenuate your fault.

Do attend to my request, and, I think, you will find it moderate and easy to be complied with. I am not to have the happiness of your company; give me therefore what else you can. I ask but a few lines; and can you, who are so rich in words, refuse me that faint image of yourfelf? What reason have I to expect you will be more liberal in things of consequence, if even you show yourself niggardly in a few words? - Having, as I faid, complied with all your injunctions, I thought, indeed, I had great pretentions to your efteem. Even at this moment I am a victim to your will. It was not religion that called me to the aufterities of the cloifter: I was then in the bloom of youth: but you ordered it, and I obeyed. For this facrifice, if I have no merit in your eyes; vain indeed is all my labor! From God I can look for no reward, for whose fake, it is plain, I have as yet done nothing. When you had refolved to quit the world, I followed you, rather I ran before you. It feems you had the image of the patriarch's wife before your eyes: you feared I might look back, and therefore before you could furrender your own liberty, I was to be devoted. In that one instance, I confess, your mistrust of me tore my heart:

Abeillard, I blushed for you. For my part, Heaven knows! had I feen you hastening to perdition, at a fingle nod, I should not have hefitated. to have preceded, or to have followed you. My foul was no longer in my own possession. It was in yours. Even now, if it is not with you, it is no where. It cannot exist without you. But do receive it kindly. There it will be happy, if it find you indulgent; if you only return kindness for kindness, trifles for things of moment, and a few words for all the deeds of my life. Were you less sure of my love, you would be more folicitous. But because my conduct has rendered you secure, you neglect me. Once more recollect what I have done for you, and how much you are indebted to me.

While together we enjoyed the pleasures which love affords, the motive of my attachment was to others uncertain. The event has proved, on what principles I started. To obey you, I sacrificed all my pleasures. I reserved nothing, the hope only excepted, that so I should become more perfectly your's. How unjust then is Abeillard, if, as my deserts increase, he make the less return! I ask but trisses, and trisses which require no labor to be complied with.

By that God then, to whom your life is confecrated, I conjure you, give me so much of yourself, as is at your disposal, that is, send me some lines of consolation. Do it with this design at

least, that, my mind being more at ease, I may serve God with more alacrity. When sormerly the love of pleasure was your pursuit, how often did I hear from you? In your songs the name of Heloisa was made samiliar to every tongue: it was heared in every street, the walls of every house repeated it. With how much greater propriety might you now call me to God, than you did then to pleasure. Weigh your obligations: think on my petition. — I have written you a long letter, but the conclusion shall be short. — My only friend, Farewel.

### LETTER II.

#### ABEILLARD TO HELOISA.

I fince our conversion from the world to God, I have not written to console, or to admonish you, it was not the effect of indifference. Ascribe it to the high opinion, I have ever entertained of your wisdom and prudence. How could I think, that she stood in need of my affistance, to whom heaven had so largely distributed its best gifts? You were able, I knew, by example as by word, to instruct the ignorant, to comfort the pusillanimous, and to admonish the lukewarm.

When prioress of Argenteuil, these duties, I remember, you used long ago to practise: and

if now you give the same attention to your daughters, as you did then to your sisters, more is not requisite; and all that I could say would be of no value. But if, in your humility, you think otherwise, and that my instructions can avail you any thing; tell me only on what subjects you would have me write, and, as God shall direct me, I will endeavour to satisfy you.

I thank God that, exciting in your breafts an anxious folicitude for the conftant and imminent dangers to which I am exposed, he has taught you to sympathize with my sufferings. Thus may I hope for the divine protection by your prayers, and soon see Satan bruised under my feet. It is with this view that I hasten to send you the form of prayer, you so earnestly requested, you, my sister, once dear to me in the world, but now most dear to me in Christ. By this means, you will offer to God a constant sacrifice of prayers, urging him to pardon our great and manifold sins, and to avert the hourly dangers which threaten me.

Many examples attest, how powerful before God and his saints are the prayers of the saithful; but chiefly of women for their friends, and of wives for their husbands. In this view the apostle admonishes us to pray without intermission.—
(He then goes on to prove this efficacy of prayer, from the holy scriptures, insisting particularly on the

examples of holy women: he tells her how much he confides in the prayers of the nuns of the Paraclet, and in her own, to which as her husband he claims a peculiar right.)

But I will not infift on the fupplications of your fifterhood, day and night devoted to the fervice of their maker; to you only I apply. I well know how powerful your intercession may be; and, in my present circumstances, I trust, it will be exerted. In your prayers then, ever remember him, who, in a particular manner, is your's. Urge your entreaties, for it is just you should be heared. An equitable judge cannot refuse it.

When formerly I was with you, you recollect, my dear Heloisa, how fervently you recommended me to the care of Providence. Often in the day a particular prayer was repeated for me.— Removed as I now am from the Paraclet, and involved in greater danger, how much more pressing are my wants! Now then convince me of the sincerity of your regard. I entreat, I implore you.—(Then comes the prayer, to be said for himself, which I have elsewhere copied.)

But if, by the permission of heaven, my enemies should so far prevail as to take away my life; or if, by any chance, I should be numbered with the dead; it is in my prayer that my body be conveyed to the Paraclet. There my daughters, or rather my sisters in Christ, turning their

eyes often to my tomb, will more strongly be excited to petition heaven for me. And, indeed, to a mind penetrated with grief, and stricken by the dark view of its crimes, where can be found a resting-place, at once so safe, and so full of hope, as that which, in a peculiar manner, is dedicated to, and hears the name of, the Paraclet, that is, the Comforter? Besides, I know not where a Christian could find a better grave, than in the fociety of holy women, confecrated to God. They, as the Gospel tells us, attended the interment of their divine mafter, they embalmed his body with precious perfumes, they followed him to the monument, and there they watched in anxious folicitude. In return, they were confoled with the first angelic apparition, announcing his refurrection, and many subsequent favors were conferred upon them. To conclude, it is my most earnest request that the solicitude you now too strongly feel for the prefervation of my life, you will then extend to the repose of my foul. Carry into my grave the same degree of love you showed me when alive, that is, never forget to petition heaven for me in your prayers. Heloifa, live and farewel! - Farewel, my fisters: live, but let it be in Christ! - Remember Abeillard!

## ABEILLARD AND HELOISA. 251

#### LETTER III.

be

l,

of is

et,

ot

ın

to

1e

d

d

d

1-

ıg

rs

is

u

y

y

of

er

y

# HELOISA TO ABEILLARD,

A M furprised, my dearest Abeillard, that, contrary to the usual style of epistolary correspondence, and even contrary to the obvious order of things, you would presume, in the very front of your salutation, to put my name before your own. It was preserring a woman to a man, a wife to her husband, a nun to a monk and a priest, and a deaconness to an abbot.—Decency and good order require that, when we write to our superiors or our equals, the names of those to whom we write, should have the first place. But in writing to inseriors, they are first mentioned who are first in dignity.

It was also to us a subject of much astonishment that, at the moment we expected consolation from you, then was our forrow to be augmented. You should have dried our tears; but you rather chose to make them slow in larger streams. For which of us with dry eyes could read those concluding words of your letter: "But if, by the "permission of heaven, my enemies should so "far prevail as to take away my life?" &c. Oh, Abeillard! how could your mind suggest such ideas; how could your hand write them?

No, no; God cannot fo far forfake his fervants, as to perpetuate our lives, when you are gone. He will not give us that kind of existence, which is ten times worse than death. It belongs to you to celebrate our obsequies, and to commend our souls to God. It is you who assembled us here in his name: you must first dispose of us; then, no longer anxious on our account, and more secure of our salvation, you may sollow us with more alacrity.

In future, do, Sir, be more guarded in your expressions. Already, alas! we are wretched enough. Why should you make us more so; why, before the hour, deprive us of that poor life we drag along with difficulty? Each day is sufficiently loaded with its own misery; and that last fatal one, covered with a robe of bitterness, will bring to each of us, an ample share of sorrow. "Why then, says Seneca, should we run in quest of evils, and die before our day?"

You request, should your death happen, while absent from us, that your body be conveyed to the Paraclet: For thus you think, with your image ever before us, to derive greater benefit from our prayers. Do you then imagine we can ever forget you? Or will that be a season for prayer, when general consternation shall have banished every tranquil thought: when reason will have lost its sway; and the tongue its utterance:

ts,

ne.

ich

to

nd

us

15;

nd

wo

ur

ed

0;

or

is

nat

ſs,

of

we

P "

ile

to

ur

efit

an

for

ve

rill

e:

when the mind, in frantic rage, rebelling against its maker, will not feek to pacify him by supplications, but rather to provoke his anger by complaints? On that sad day our sole occupation will be to weep, but not to pray. We shall sollow you: we shall run into the grave with you. How then are we to perform your last melancholy rites? With you having lost the support of our lives, what will remain for us but death? God grant that day may be our last!— If the sole mention of your death thus strikes us to the heart; what will not the reality do? It is our prayer to heaven, that we may not survive you; that we may never have to perform that office, which we expect from your hands.

Again let me entreat you to be more confiderate for the fake of us all: at leaft, on my account, do refrain from all expressions which, like the shafts of death, penetrate my soul.—The mind, worn down by grief is a stranger to repose: plunged in troubles it is little able to think on God. To him you have devoted our lives; and will you impede his service? It were to be wished that every necessary event, which brings forrow with it, might take place when least expected: for what cannot be avoided by human foresight, when permitted to torment us, only raises unavailing fears. Full of this thought the poet Lucan thus petitions heaven:

Sit subitum quodcunque paras; sit cæca futuri Mens hominum fati: liceat sperare timenti!

But if I lose you, what have I to hope for! you are my only comfort; deprived of that, shall I still drag on my miserable pilgrimage? But even in you, what comfort have I, save only the thought, that you are still living? All other joys are forbidden to me. I may not be allowed to see you, that my soul might sometimes, at least, return into its own bosom.

May I be permitted to fay that heaven has never ceased to be my relentless persecutor? If you call it clemency, where is cruelty to be found? Fortune, that favage destiny, has spent against me every arrow of her rage. She has none left to throw at others. Her quiver was full, and she exhausted it on me. Mortals have no longer cause to dread her. Nor if there were a shaft left, would it find in Heloisa a spot to light on. But, though bleeding at every pore, my enemy does not stay her perfecuting hand. She suspends the last fatal stroke, and only fears lest my wounds prove mortal. Of all the wretched I am the most forlorn and wretched! Preferred by you to the reft of my fex, I rose to the most exalted dignity. Thrown down from thence, my fate has been proportionably hard. He who falls from thegreatest height, falls with the greatest

risk. Where was the woman of birth or power that fortune would have dared to compare with me? In the possession of you my glory was unrivalled; so is my disgrace in your privation. In prosperity and in adversity my life has known no measure. My happiness was unbounded; so is my affliction. Hanging over my melancholy state, I shed the more tears, when I view the magnitude of my losses; but my tears redouble, when recollection tells me, how dear those pleasures were which I have lost. To the greatest joys have succeeded the greatest forrows.

r!

it.

ut

ily

er

ed

at

as

If

d?

ne

to

he

ger

aft

on.

ny

ids

ny

m

ou

ed

ate

ills

eft

And that my condition, it feems, might be absolutely desperate, even the common rules of equity have been perverted in our regard. For while we pursued illicit pleasures, divine justice was indulgent to us. No sooner was this reformed, and the holy bond of marriage united us, than the hand of God became heavy on us.

Having lowered yourself to raise me, and thus given dignity to me and all my family, what more could be required? All guilt was cancelled before God and man.—Why was I born to be the occasion of so black a persidy! But such has ever been the baneful influence of women on the greatest men. Hence the caution of the wise man against us. (Prov. 7. 24.)

Eve, our first mother, drove her husband from paradise. Heaven gave her to be his helpmate, but

foon the became his destruction. - Delila was alone strong enough to vanquish that brave Nazarean, whose birth an angel had foretold. She delivered him to his enemies. When deprived of fight he was no longer able to support the load of mifery, involved in one common ruin he expired with his enemies. - Salomon, the wifest of men, was so infatuated by a woman, the daughter of the king of Egypt, as even, in the decline of life, to become an idolater. In preference to his father, who was a just man, he had been chosen to build a temple to the Lord: that Lord he had publicly announced by word and in writing, and he had taught his worship; but that worship he deserted. - Job, that man of piety, had to endure the severest of all his conflicts from his wife. She instigated him to curse God. The arch-tempter well knew what experience had often taught him, that the most compendious way to destroy a husband, was to employ the artifice of his wife.

His usual malice he tried also upon us. He had failed in his attempt while our union was unlawful; therefore he had recourse to matrimony. He was not permitted, from our evil conduct, to work our ruin; but he drew it from a source which was holy.

One confolation I have, however, and I thank heaven for it, that, like the women I mentioned, I

had no share in the crime that was committed. An occasion of it, indeed, I was; but my mind did not co-operate. Yet, alas! though in this sense, unconscious of any guilt; do I know that my many antecedent sins were not the cause? Here I may be criminal. Long had I lived in the indulgence of my passions: and thereby I justly merited what I suffer. To such evil beginings must be ascribed so disastrous an event. God grant me strength to do ample penance for the crimes that have been committed! May my sorrow, lengthened out to many days, bear some proportion to what you have suffered! It is but just, and to it I consign my life. Thus,

should not heaven be pacified, to Abeillard at

least I shall have made some atonement.

I will disclose to you all the secret weaknesses of my unhappy heart. Tell me then: can I hope to appease the divine anger; I, who, at every moment, am charging heaven with cruelty? My murmurs may draw on me greater vengeance: the forrow, at least, of such a penitent will not avert it. But why do I talk of penitence? While the mind retains all its former attachments to sin; what avails the external language of gries? It is, indeed, easy to confess one's faults; it is easy to put on the imposing garb of penitence: but, Oh God! how hard it is to tear the mind from those afsections, which were once so

VOL. II.

as

ve

d.

ed

ne

in

ne

ı,

in

In

n,

he

be

iis

b,

eft

ed

W

he

ı,

Te

as

y.

t,

ce

nk

, I

dear! For this reason, when the holy Job had faid; "I will loofen my tongue to fpeak against " myself, " that is, I will accuse myself of my faults, I will confess my fins; he immediately adds: " I will speak in the bitterness of my " foul: " These words the blessed Gregory has expounded: " There are many, fays he, who " readily acknowledge their faults; but they " know not what it is to grieve: what should be " a subject of tears they relate with a face of joy." He therefore who, in real detestation, declares his fins, must do it in the bitterness of his heart, his compunction must at once punish what his tongue is made to utter.

How rare this penitential forrow is, St. Ambrofe has also told us: "I have found more, fays " he, who have preserved their innocence, " than who have recovered it by penitence." " \_ So fascinating were the pleasures we once indulged; the thought of them cannot give me pain, nor can I efface their impression. Wherever I turn my eyes, in all their charms, there are they present to me. Even in my dreams the dear phantoms hover round me.

During the celebration of the august mysteries, when the foul, on the wings of prayer, should rife more pure to heaven, the same importunate ideas haunt my wretched foul: they feize every avenue to my heart. When I should grieve for what is past; I only sigh that the same pleasures return no more. My mind has been too faithful to its impressions: it holds up to the imagination every circumstance of pleasure, and all the scenes of past joys play wantonly before me.

I know, the strong workings of my mind, sometimes even betray themselves on my countenance. I am heard to utter words, which escape unthinkingly from me. — How wretched is my condition! To me surely may be applied those plaintive expressions of the apostle; "miserable "mortal that I am, who will free me from this body of death? "Could I but add with truth; "the grace of God through Jesus Christ our Lord!"

0

y

e

25

ta

is

[e

15

,

ce

e

er

re

ne

s,

ld

te

гу

ve

This grace, my dearest Abeillard, you are possessed of: it has been peculiarly indulgent to you. Even the very circumstance, which we consider as an instance of great severity, does but announce the paternal goodness of God, Like a skilful physician who, to cure his patient, does not spare the knife. — I have to combat the fervor of youth, and that burning slame which, the indulgence of pleasure, has raised within me. My arms are but that poor desence, which weak semale nature can supply.

They, who cannot look into my foul, think me virtuous: they think me chafte, because my external actions are such; when surely this amiable virtue only dwells within the mind. The world

may praise me; but before God I am worthless. He is the fearcher of hearts, and his eye penetrates into the inmost thoughts. - I am deemed virtuous in an age, when religion too generally wears the cloak of hypocrify; when he is most loudly praifed, whose actions do not shock the public eye. Indeed, the man, perhaps, may deserve some commendation, even before God, who, whatever be his motive, abstains from those practices, which are a fcandal to the church, which expose the name of God to the blaspheming tongues of the wicked, and by which wordlings are induced to ridicule the facred institutes of religion. This is, at least, a small effect of divine grace, from which proceeds not only the power to do good, but also that of abstaining from doing evil. Yet, after all, what avails the latter without the former? It is written; decline from evil, and do good." And even both can have no pretention to a reward, unless they be done from the motive of pleafing God.

Through the whole course of my life, heaven knows what have been my dispositions! It was you, and not God, whom I feared most to offend; you, and not God, I was most anxious to please. My mind is still unaltered. It was not love of him, but solely your command, that drew me to the cloister. How miserable then my condition, if, undergoing so much, I have no prospect of a reward hereaster! By external show, you, like

others, have been deceived; you ascribed to the impressions of religion what sprang from another source. Thus you recommend yourself to my prayers, in hopes of finding that succour, which I look for from you.

Do not, I pray, place that false confidence in me, which will make me lose the affistance I want. If you think me in health, you will apply no medicines; if in affluence, your hand will not be open to relieve me; and if strong, alas! I shall fall before you can run in to support me. Undeserved praise has been the ruin of many. It puts us off our guard at the moment caution is most necessary.

1

e

y

d

11

tc

of

at

1;

en

efs

d.

en

u,

d;

fe.

of

me

n,

of

like

If you be an enemy to flattery, and a friend to truth, let me then entreat you to cease from praising me. If you think I possess any thing commendable, do not you, at least, raise the wind of vanity, which may dissipate it at a blast. Would he be thought an able physician, who, from external symptoms, should pretend to determine the nature of an internal complaint? Things which are common to the saint and the sinner have no merit in the sight of God. Such are all outward practices, to which the hypocrite more sedulously adheres, than the greatest saint.

The heart of man is depraved. It is impenetrable to human fight: who yet has fathomed it? And there are ways which feem to us straight, the ends

of which lead to death. Where God has referved judgment to himfelf, it is rash in man to pronounce. For which reason the wise man says; "praise no one, whilst he lives:" give not commendation at a time, when the very act of doing it, may make him undeserving of it.

To me your praises bring the greatest delight; but therefore is their impression more dangerous. The anxious desire I have to please you gives them a thousand charms. Yet I would rather you should tremble for me, than show too much considence. Fear will make you solicitous to assist me; and in my present state, heaven knows what cause I have to tremble!

Do not tell me, in your exhortations to a virtuous life, that "virtue is perfected in weaknefs," and that "he only shall be crowned,
who had stoutly contended." I look for no laurels, no crown of victory. It is enough for me to keep out of the way of danger. I like not the perils of war. If God will but give me the lowest place in heaven, I shall be amply satisfied. There, indeed, jealousy is not known, where each one is pleased with his allotment of happiness.

If these sentiments be not your's, I will confirm them by the authority of St. Jerom: "I, "says he, fairly confess my weakness: I do not wish to fight in hopes of victory, lest I be defeated." How soolish is it to abandon what is certain, and run after an uncertainty which we may never find.—Farewel.

### ABEILLARD AND HELOISA. 269

#### LETTER IV.

### ABEILLARD TO HELOISA

THE complaints, you urge against me, in your last letter, may be reduced to four heads. That in the salutation of my letter I put your name before my own—That, in lieu of administering comfort, Ihad added to your grief, by my expressions—That my praises are dangerous to you; while to oppose them you accuse yourself, and entreat me not to repeat them—And lastly, you subjoined your tiresome and never-ending murmurs against providence.

To these I will reply, not so much in my own defence, as for your instruction and advice. When you know that my requests are reasonable, you will be more disposed to comply with them; and when you find that I am not reprehensible in what regards myself, you will think me more just in your own concerns; and not again undervalue my admonitions.

I.—With regard to what you style the preposterous order of my address, a little attention will show you, that, in so doing, I conformed to your own idea. You say that, when we write to our superiors, their names should have the first place. You yourself are my superior, since you became the

fpouse of Christ, as your favorite Jerom has shown in his letter to Eustochium.—(The truth of this whimsical assertion he then attempts to show by a chain of mystical arguments, which the reader will find at length in the Latin original.)

II.—And in reply to your fecond charge, that I afflicted you by mentioning the danger, to which I am exposed, and the death which I fear, recollect that, I did that also, in compliance with your most earnest request. I refer you to the words of your first letter; "For Christ's sake," &c.

p. 235,

I acquainted you of my anxious cares, to which you had conjured me; and for that I am blamed. While my life is in danger, would it become you rather to rejoice? Or you would partake of my joys, but not of my forrows.—Nothing fo well distinguishes our true from our false friends, as that the former stand by us in adversity, and the latter are our companions only in prosperity.

Cease therefore, I pray you, from such expressions, and still these useless murmurs, which, indeed, have no affinity with the feelings of friendship. Or if this must not be; I at least may be permitted, surrounded as I am by perils, to be anxious for my own soul, and to provide, as far as may be, for its welfare.—And how, if you

see new road inividual out the detailed

MA A STANDARD CONTRACTOR OF THE SECOND

really love me, can you object to this provident circumspection? Even, had you any confidence in the divine mercy towards me, in proportion as my sufferings appear heavy to you, it would be your wish to see me delivered from them. For you are well convinced that he would be my benefactor, who should put a period to my unhappy life. What then might be my fate, is uncertain; but I know my present evils.

The termination of misery is itself a happiness; and they who really seel for others, whatever their own loss may be in the event, cannot but desire to see an end to their labors. The kind mother who beholds her son languishing in pain, looks eagerly to its conclusion; she cannot support the sight, and she rather wishes his dissolution, than to have a partner in misery. The company of a friend is, indeed, pleasing: but I would sooner see him away, and happy, than have him with me, and miserable. His sufferings, which I cannot remedy, become intolerable to me.

But you, Heloisa, may not even enjoy my wretched company. Why then would you rather see me live in sorrow, than die and be happy? I do not understand your motives. If, from a continuance of my sufferings, you expect any advantage to yourself; you ast the part rather of an enemy, than a friend. The idea, I know, shocks you, let me then hear no more of such complaints.

III. — Your rejection of praise I certainly applaud: thereby you show that you deserve it. It is written: "he that humbles himself shall be "exalted." Your heart and hand, I trust, have gone together. If so, your humility is sincere: and my words will not injure it. But take care, I beg, lest in seeming to avoid praise, you seek it more, and your mind give the lie to your tongue. You know the sentiment of Jerom on this subject; and give me leave to bring to your recollection the artful Galatea of Virgil. She ran from her lover, that he might follow her; and before she hid herself, she wished to be seen:

Et fugit ad falices, & fe cupit ante videri.

So we also sometimes strive to excite the greater admiration, by seeming to withdraw from it. We decline the regard of the world, and we draw it

after us. It is an unbecoming artifice.

I fpeak of general characters. Of you I have no fuspicion, nor do I doubt your sincerity. Still let me advise you to be more guarded in your language. They who know you less may perhaps think, you are but asking for greater praise. My commendations, believe me, will never make you vain; but they may stimulate you to better exertions: and the more you desire to please me, the more ardently will you strive to execute my

injunctions. If I praise the excellency of your religious deportment, it is not that you should glory in it. And observe that, as the censure of an enemy is not to have much weight, so should not a friend's praise be too confidently relied on.

IV. - It remains that I examine more minutely what has long been the fubject of your incessant complaints, I mean the circumstance, which drew us from the world. Here you accuse the ways of providence, when it would be more equitable to extol them. I had thought, indeed, that long ago, by the peculiar grace of heaven, this bitterness had been erased from your mind. The more dangerous it is, at once threatening the ruin of your foul and body, the more it calls for pity, and the more it gives me pain. You declare that, your only wish is to please me: quit then these baneful thoughts, that you may torment me no longer that you may make me happy. With them you cannot please me; nor with them can you expect to go along with me to happiness hereafter. You have professed a willingness to follow me even to the gates of misery, and will you let me go without you to those of endless joy? Let this, at least, be a motive which may urge you to a religious life. Reflect on the happiness which awaits you there, and on my fociety, which will no more be taken from you; for you do not hesitate to declare that I am in the right way.

Recollect what you once faid; call to mind the words of your last letter, that, in the manner of our conversion, and in the mode of God's chastisement, heaven had been rather propitious to me. Yes, Heloifa, it was propitious to us both; but the excess of your grief does not admit the language of reason. Lament not that you were the cause of this event; rather be persuaded you were born to be it. I suffered; but it was advantageous to me: do the fufferings of the martyrs also give you pain? Had I justly suffered, could you have borne it more patiently? If so, ignominy. would have fallen upon me, and my enemies might have gloried; they would have been just; and I contemptible. Their behaviour would have accusers; and who would have found no pitied me?

To affuage the bitterness of your grief, I could show that all has happened justly, and with a view to our greater good. The ways of Providence are equitable. Revolve in your thoughts the intemperance of our behaviour, even after marriage, when you were at Argenteuil, and I sometimes came to visit you. Need I mention our many antecedent excesses? And how basely had I deceived your uncle, when I lived with him in habits of unbounded confidence? Surely his vengeance was not unmerited.— In punishment of these crimes it was that I have suffered; and

to the same cause I ascribe the many evils which, at this hour, surround me. It will be well if divine justice may thus be satisfied.

Call to your recollection another circumstance. When I took you from Paris into Britany, to avoid shame and the fury of your uncle, you disguised yourself in the dress of a nun; and thus irreverently profaned the holy institute, which you now profess. With what propriety then has the divine justice, rather the divine goodness, compelled you to embrace a state, which you could wantonly ridicule, willing that, in the very habit of a nun, you should expiate the crime committed against it. The truth of reality supplies itself a cure, and corrects your dissimulation.

If we view the advantages also which this justice has produced, you will rather be disposed to admire the kindness of heaven towards us. My dearest Heloisa, do consider, from what perils we were drawn, even when we resisted most the calls of mercy. We were exposed to the most dangerous tempests, and God delivered us. Ever repeat, and with a grateful mind, the wonders of his mercy. The worst sinners may take a lesson from our example; for what may not suppliants expect, when they hear of the favors which were done to us? — Compare together the magnitude of our dangers, and the ease of our deliverance; our inveterate disorders, and the gentle remedy;

our unworthy conduct, and the benevolence of heaven. — I will then proclaim what the Lord has done for me.

And do you also be my inseparable associate in this grateful thanksgiving: you were my partner in guilt, and you shared the favor of heaven. Heaven has been particularly mindful of you; even, by the happy presage of your name, it marked you for its own; for Heloisa is derived from the sacred name of Heloim.

In the admirable order of providence, by the very means the devil aimed to destroy us, was our falvation effected. We were then just united by the indiffoluble bond of marriage. It was my wish never to be separated from you; and, at that moment, God projected to draw us both to himself. - Had you been tied by no engagement, when I left the world, the perfualion of friends, or the love of pleasure, might eafily have detained you in it. - It feemed, by this care of heaven, as if we had been designed for some important purpose; as if it were unbecoming, that the literary talents, we both poffessed, should be employed in other business, than in celebrating the praises of our maker. Perhaps it was feared that the allurements of a woman might pervert my heart. It was the fate of Salomon.

How many are the bleffings with which your

labors are now daily crowned! Your spiritual children are numerous; while I, alas! can number none, and am here in vain, at St. Gildas, preaching to these sons of perdition. And would not, think you, the loss have been deplorable, if, immerfed in the ignoble pleafures of the world, in lieu of the splendid offspring you now rear for heaven, you had been, with pain, the mother only of a few earthly children? Then would you have been a mere woman; and now you furpass us all, and now you change the curse of Eve into the bleffing of Mary. Those hands which, in holy occupation, now turn over the facred volumes, had been unbecomingly engaged in the mean offices of domestic life!-From fuch unfeemly occupations we have been graciously called, even by a holy violence, as was the great apostle. It has been meant, perhaps, for an example, from which other learned persons may take warning, and not presume on their own strength.

Be not therefore afflicted, Heloisa, nor repine at this paternal chastisement. "God corrects "whom he loves." Our sufferings are momentary; they are to purify, and not destroy us. Listen to the prophet, and be comforted. "God will "not judge, nor will he twice punish the same "crime," says he. Attend to the important advice, which truth itself has given to us: "In

" patience you shall possess your souls." So says Salomon: "The patient man is better than the "warrior, and he that is master of his own mind "than the conqueror of cities."

Are you not moved to compunction and to tears, when you behold the innocent fon of God, fuffering such various torments for you and for us all? Him have ever before your eyes; carry him in your thoughts. View him going out to Calvary, and bearing the heavy weight of his cross. Join the company of the people, and of the holy women, who lamented and wailed round him.— Learn to sympathize with his sufferings; be early at his monument, and strew persumes on his grave. But remember, they be spiritual odors; and with your tears bedew them.

When they who love their prince, fee his first and only son expiring before them, how excessive is their lamentation! The royal family and the whole court are dissolved in tears. But it is the young queen, the spouse of the deceased, whose sighs are most afflicting, and whose cries are loudest.—These your grief must emulate. You are the consort of the lamb. He purchased you for himself, and he redeemed you. His right to you then is indisputable; and see, how dear you must be to him.— What could he, who needs no one, behold in you, that should force him to undergo so much for your sake? His love was disinterested;

it fought for nothing but yourfelf; and for you he was disposed to die. This is the test of charity. He was your true friend, and not I, Heloifa. My love, which involved us both in crimes, did not deferve the name. The gratification of my passions was all I looked for. I suffered, you say, for you; and fo it may be: but rather it was on your account only that I fuffered, and that reluctantly. In that there was no love. Nor was it to do you good fo much, as to add to your grief and to oppress you more. But he, your Saviour, voluntarily fuffered for you; he fuffered to heal your maladies, and to do away your pains. To him then, and not to me, be directed all your tenderness, all your tears, and all your fympathy. Grieve that fo great cruelty was practifed on innocence; and not that a just vengeance fell on me, when even this vengeance rather was a favor from heaven.

If equity offends you, you are unjust, Heloisa: and if knowingly you resist the will and the kindness of providence, your sin is greater. Bewail your redeemer, not your seducer; him who died for you, not your servant who, freed from death, just now begins to live.

To the events, which have mercifully befallen us both, learn then to submit with patience. It was the hand of a father which struck, not to destroy, but to correct us. His severest blow gave

Vot. II:

life to my foul. He might justly have overwhelmed me, when to fave me from eternal punishment, he inflicted momentary pain. You and I had both been guilty; and he was fatisfied that one should suffer. - It is true, you had deserved less, for by nature you were more infirm, and your virtue was more constant. In equity did God weigh these circumstances: and I thank him from my heart, that he laid no punishment on you, and yet referved for you the palm of victory. Me, indeed, he chastised, and stilled the tempest of my passions; but you he destined to nobler contests, and to the rewards of those who conquer. This I know you do not hear with pleasure, and you forbad me to repeat it: but it is not therefore less the language of truth. He who has an enemy to oppose, has ever victory to look to; for he only, fays the apostle, shall be crowned who has contended floutly.

For me remain no laurels; but it is some consolation, that I have less to withstand here, and that I may have escaped, perhaps, eternal punishment hereafter. — If I complain that my source of merit is diminished; I am pleased that your's should be augmented. We are one in Christ, and one by the bond of marriage. What you can call your own, to me may not be indifferent. I have said, I am now your servant, whom once you called your master: but it is charity

rather which unites me to you, than any fear that rules me. My confidence then in your patronage is great; your prayers will effect what mine cannot. At this time particularly when imminent dangers, and a thousand cares distract my thoughts, and allow no time for prayer. Nor have I more leisure to read the word of God, and to ponder its facred truths, in imitation of the Æthiopian eunuch, of whom we read that an apostle was sent by heaven to instruct him. He had the holy Scriptures in his hand, and he read as he journeyed homeward.

That no impediment may lie in the way of my request, and that it may be delayed no longer, I have composed, and I here send you a prayer, which, with hands raised to heaven, you will daily repeat for us both.

### The PRAYER.

"O GOD, who, in the beginning of all things, having drawn woman from the fide of man, didft inflitute the great facrament of marriage, and by thy own birth, and thy first miracle, didft then raise it to higher honors, of the grace of which facrament I once, in thy goodness, was allowed to partake; reject not, oh reject not, the prayers of thy humble handmaid, which, here prostrate in the presence.

" of thy majesty, I pour out for my own fins, " and for the fins of my dear Abeillard. Pardon, " thou kindest being, thou, who art goodness " itself, pardon our manifold crimes, may our " numberless faults experience the greatness of " thy mercies! I befeech thee, now punish us, " for we are guilty, and spare us hereafter. Use against thy servants the rod of correction, but " not the fword of thy wrath. Chastife our bodies, " but show pity to our fouls. Purify them, but " not in thy anger. Be merciful, rather than be " just. As a father correcteth his children, so do " thou chaften us, and not as an auftere mafter.-" Try us, O Lord, as the prophet requests, and " measure our strength; then lay thy burdens on us. By the bleffed Paul thou haft promifed, that man shall not be tempted beyond his " ftrength. - When it pleafed thee, and as it " pleased thee, so didst thou join us, O Lord, " and so didst thou put us asunder. The work " thou didst begin in mercy, do thou in mercy " perfect. Whom thou didft once separate here, " unite for ever to thyself in heaven. Thou art " our hope, our portion, our expectation, " our comfort. O Lord, bleffed be thy name for ever!" Farewel in Christ, and live to him! \_ Amen.

# ABEILLARD AND HELOISA: 277

#### LETTER V.

#### HELOISA TO ABEILLARD.

THAT you may not have cause to charge me with difobedience, as you ordered, fo have I checked the language of immoderate grief. When I write to you, my expressions shall be more temperate: but on other occasions, I cannot promife to refrain my tongue. - Nothing is less in our power than our own minds; and we are oftener forced to obey than, we can command, their operations. The sudden impulse of strong affections cannot be at once repressed; their effects are visible, and they more easily announce themselves in words, which are their readiest vehicle. " From the abundance of the heart the " mouth speaketh." But I will keep my pen in fubjection, even when my tongue shall be ungovernable. It would be well, indeed, if my mind were as fubfervient!

To restore me to serenity is not, I sear, in your power; but you can moderate my sorrow. One thought is banished by another. The chain of gloomy meditation is broken, when new objects engage the attention; and the more honorable, or expedient, or interesting these may appear.

the more intense will be their impression, and the more will the mind turn aside from trouble.

We request then that you will enter on the discussion of two points, the knowledge of which will be very useful to us. Tell us the origin of the female monastic institute; and then give us a rule, adapted to our fex, and which may comprise all the duties of our flate. For want of this, men and women are now subject to the same rule; the same burden is laid on all. This is the rule of St. Bennet, practifed through the Western church. View only its feveral injunctions, as to the dress, for instance of the religious, and the distinct duties of the abbot; and tell me how any part of them can be applied to nuns, or to their superior? Are we to show no hospitality to the other sex; or when they come, must the abbess, as the general rule requires, give them entertainment at her table? Great is the danger in this promiscuous society, and particularly at meals where excess is often committed, and wine begins to loofen the passions of the foul.

Of this the holy Jerom was fensible. Writing to a Roman lady and her daughter, he says; "In banquets innocence is not easily preserved."

— And Ovid, that master of soul obscenity, has been careful to point out the many occasions

### ABEILLARD AND HELOISA. 270

which the table supplies for criminal indulgences He fays;

Vinaque cum bibulas sparsere Cupidinis alas, Permanet, et capto stat gravis ille loco: Tum veniunt rifus; tum pauper cornua sumit; Tum dolor et curæ, rugaque frontis abit. Illic fæpe animos juvenum rapuere puellæ: Et Venus in venis, ignis in igne furit.

De Art. Am. l. 1.

And if women only be admitted to our table, will there then, think you, be no danger? Truly, if the business of feduction is to be carried on, I know nothing fo efficacious as female art. To our own fex it is that we chuse to reveal the corrupt maxims of our hearts. The fame experienced Jerom always advised his fair pupils to avoid with caution the fociety of women of the world. - In a word, if we only admit women, we shall irritate the men, of whose assistance our convents particularly fland in need. Is it just, besides, that no return should be made to those who are our greatest benefactors?

Seeing then that the whole compass of our rule. cannot be complied with, have we not reason to fear the censure of St. James, that, " He who " violates the law in one article, transgreffes " against the whole?" I find no exception in the

But passing over those particulars, with which we cannot comply, or not without danger: who ever beheld a convent of nuns employed in the harvest, or in the general business of farming? Can it be expected that a whole year should be spent in our noviciates; or that three' expositions of the rule may suffice? What, in fhort, can be more foolish than to enter on a road, dark and hitherto unexplored? Need I mention the prefumption there is, in chufing and daring to profess a life, of which we know nothing, and in making vows which evidently cannot be fulfilled? Prudence is the mother of all virtues, and reason must guide our best actions. Indeed, where they are wanting, what practice can be called good or virtuous? Even virtues which run into excefs, may more properly, as Jerom observes, be entered on the lift of vices. And can there be a more abfurd attempt than to impose burdens, before the shoulders have been tried which are to bear them? Human exertions can not exceed the strength of nature. Who would take the ponderous load from an elephant, and lay it on the back of an afs? Can children or old men do the work of vigorous age? All must be in just proportion. Expect not then from us the exertions of manhood, or achievements which may become the strength of your arms. The holy Gregory's admonitions are apposite to these maxims,

As in framing the monkish rules no mention is made of women, and even statutes are introduced wholly unadapted to their characters, it is plain that they were not meant for us. Nature must be forced. Of this, Bennet our holy father, in whose breast every virtue was seen to dwell, was fo fenfible, that he would adapt his rule, as far as might be, to the constitutions of men, and the variation of feafons. Let all things, fays he, be done in meafure. He begins by the abbot, and ordains that in governing his monks, he pay due attention to their respective dispositions and talents; that he always bear his own infirmities before his eyes: and that he be careful not to crush the tender reed. " If I force my flock, faid Jacob, to " advance too far, they will all die in one day." Prudence then must be used, that the stout be feafonably employed, and the weak be not disheartened.

Agreeably to these wise maxims, Bennet shows indulgence to the young, to the old, and to those of delicate habits. He considers the particular duties which the rule may impose; and he wishes to proportion the quality and quantity of food to the constitutions of his subjects. — Even the times of fasting he has so regulated, that they shall not fall at improper seasons, or on those who have much work to do.

How then, think you, would this wife man have acted, had he undertaken also to give laws to women? He that in his own sex could consider the many incidents of human weakness, would have well known how to measure ours. Do you, Abeillard, take a lesson from his example, and fancy not that one rule will apply likewise to us, or that we can bear your burdens. — For us, I think, it will be enough, if in our virtues we shall be able to rival the bishops of God's church, and her clergy. Nor truly would it be contemptible to come up to the persection of the good laity. What in you men of stout virtue hardly deserves notice, in us may be called admirable,

The learned Chrysostom knew how to value the virtue of the lay-christian. He advises all to follow the lesson of the Apostle, to watch and pray, and to mortify the sless.—This advice was not given to monks only. Indeed, what are the indulgences to which the laity may pretend? They may marry: besides that, we have all the same obligations. Our divine master made no distinction. Hard truly would be the condition of mankind, if the same rewards were not promised to all; or is matrimony were supposed to be a bar to virtue here, and to happiness hereafter.

If to the gospel-precepts then we superadd the virtue of continence, we shall have done our duty. Would to God, we were only able, by our best exertions, to fulfil those precepts; that we did not aspire to be more than christians! - If I am not mistaken, it was from an idea that new laws were ill-adapted to our natures, and that we could not bear the imposition of extraordinary vows, that the holy fathers would not enact any particular statutes for our fex. They adhered to the maxims of the apostle. " where there is no law, there is less " prevarication. "

Conscious of our weakness, the same Paul, though the professed admirer of continence, urges young widows to marry, to become the mothers of children, and the mistresses of families. The bleffed Jerom approved the advice: " It would be better, fays he, to marry, and " to walk the beaten road, than to aim at great " things, and fall headlong into ruin." - St. Austin was an enemy to rash engagements: "She " that is free, he fays, let her feriously reflect; " and to her that is bound I recommend perfeve-" rance. "-The ancient canons of discipline forbad women to tie themselves by vows before the age of forty, and even that after a rigorous trial; whereas you may enter into holy orders at the age of twenty. The reason of this distinction is obvious.

There is now, I understand, an order of religious men, who are called the canons of St. Austin. These do not esteem themselves inferior to the monks; yet they wear linen, and eat flesh-meat. Suppose we were to copy their example?-As to food; confult but the book of nature, and it will tell you that, in that line, we should have few restraints. Sobriety in our sex is a virtue of constitution. The expense of our table is small, and a slender diet suffices. I have also learned from philosophy that we are not fo eafily intoxicated. - Macrobius observes from " Women, fays he, are feldom Aristotle: " intoxicated; old men often. A woman's body " is particularly moift. The smoothness and " brightness of the skin show it. The wine which " they drink falling upon a large body of " humors, loses its efficacy; it is weakened, " and has not strength to rife up to the brain." In another place: "The body of a woman is " made like a fieve: it is full of pores, for " the business of copious perspiration. By the " fame apertures all liquor foon escapes. On the " contrary, old men are dry, which the rough-" ness of their skin demonstrates."

Be perfuaded, Abeillard, from these considerations, that we may be indulged in the free use of meat and drink. There is no danger of excess. If we

ferve the Lord, enough will be done, and we shall deserve praise for it. In other things, let us imitate the clergy, or the devout laity, or, if you will, the canons I have mentioned, who profess to follow the maxims of the apostolic age.—It is prudent in those, who consecrate themselves to God, to vow little, that they may have it in their power freely to do more.

f

t.

r

t

r

f

e

X

r

t

n

n

y

h

of

,

s

r

e

r-

f

c

If many, at this day, who rashly engage in a monastic life, would attend to this; if they would duly weigh the important obligations of the flate, and fee what their rule requires. they would transgress less through ignorance, and less through neglect. But crouding indifcreetly into the cloifters, they there live as they entered; they despise a rule which they embraced heedlessly, and in its stead follow light and abufive cuftoms. It will become us to take care not prefumptuously to engage in difficulties, under which we see so many of you fink. The world is grown old, and with it the human race has loft its prissine vigor. At least the charity of all is fallen from its fervor. Laws then, which were made for man, must conform to the change, and be modelled to it.

I have mentioned the bleffed Bennet: he fo framed his rule, he fays, as to make it rather an introduction to a devout life. And indeed, compared with some precedent institutes, and with the practices of the holy fathers, his injunctions, it must be owned, are easy.

What so contrary to religion and the tranquil repose of the cloister as wine? It soments the passions, it breeds dissensions, and it even can overpower in man that superior reason, by which he excets the other beings of the creation, and approaches to the nature of his maker. Wine it is which the scriptures so much condemn as dangerous, and warn us against its use. You know what is said in the book of Proverbs; and Jerom, in his letter to Nepotian, on the duties of churchmen, is as severe against that pernicious liquor, and all others which can cause ebriety.

Yet does Bennet, that spiritual man, in confideration of the imperfect character of the times, allow wine to his monks. "I could "not perfuade them, says he, to abstain from "its use." He had read, I presume, of the great moderation of the holy sathers in the deserts. It is related that, on a time, a solemn service was celebrated on the mountain of abbot Anthony. Some wine was brought, out of which an old man filled a small cup, and took it to abbot Sisoi, who was sick. The good abbot drank of it once, and a second time. But when the

old man presented it a third time, he refused it: "No, said he, brother; that's enough: "don't you know that the devil is at the bottom."—There are many more such anecdotes.

As to flesh-meat: where do we find that it was ever condemned by God, or prohibited by him to monks? Bennet, who was so indulgent on a more dangerous article, may well be copied here.—I wish to see a rational scheme adopted. In things that are indifferent, use no restraint. Why require duties which will not be complied with? Forbid sin, and with that rest satisfied. In food and raiment let the maxim be, to provide what is most cheap and common; to take what is necessary, and retrench the rest.

Truly, those things are of little value, which neither prepare us for the kingdom of God, nor at all recommend us to his mercy. Such are all external practices, which are common to the reprobate and the saint, to the hyprocrite and the sincere christian. It was the distinction of external and internal works which made so wide a difference between the christian and the jew. The apostle determines charity to be the sulfilling and the end of the law; and it is by this virtue alone that the sons of God are known from the sons of the devil. He even utterly annuls the value of such works to enhance the merit of saith and internal rectitude.

Read his address to the Jews in the epistle to the Romans.—He permitted the use of all meats; it was only the danger of scandal which he advised to be avoided.—His writings every where inculcate these maxims.

And did not our Saviour himself, when he fent out his disciples to preach, use the same indulgence? If ever, caution was then peculiarly necessary: yet he told them to eat and drink whatever the hospitable kindness of their friends should set before them. It is true, Paul foresaw that the time would come, when men would depart from this discipline of his master and of himself. Thus he writes to Timothy: " The " spirit faith plainly that, in the latter times, " fome shall depart from the faith, giving ear to the spirits of error, and to the doctrines " of devils; forbidding to marry, commanding " to abstain from meats, which God created to " be received with thankfgiving by them who " believe, and who know the truth: every creature of God is good, and nothing " is to be rejected, which is taken with thanks-" giving. "

If external appearances be regarded, John and his disciples, with their wonderful abstinence and macerations, may be preferred to Christ and his apostles. They themselves seemed conscious of a superiority, when murmuring they

faid

faid; "Why do we and the Pharifees fast fo "much, while thy disciples do not fast?"—St. Austin is full upon this matter; and reflecting how much the reality exceeded the semblance of virtue, he boldly pronounces that external actions superadd nothing to the merit of our internal dispositions. I refer you to his writings.

Virtue alone is pleafing in the fight of God. They who equally possess it, will from his hands receive the fame reward, though their actions may widely vary. It will be the employment then of the true christian to attend to his heart; there to plant the feeds of virtue, and from it to eradicate vice. What may be the show of his actions, he will be little solicitous. -We read that the apostles, even in the company of their mafter, were fo ruftic and ill-bred that, regardless of common decorum, as they passed through the corn-fields, they plucked the ears, and ate them, like children. Nor did they wash their hands before they sat down to table. " To eat with unwashed hands," said our Saviour to those who were offended, " doth not defile a man." And he instantly added what those things were which bring defilement with them; " Evil thoughts, homicides " adulteries," &c. "these come from the heart, " and they defile a man. " If the mind be not previously corrupted, that is, if the will be

Vol. II.

not vicious, no actions can be bad. That is the fource of evil.

If we be studious to please him, who is the fearcher of hearts, and who reads our fecrets, it is the motive of our actions that we shall be careful to regulate. The widow's mite was more acceptable than all the splendid offerings of the rich. He, who does not need our fervices, regards the intention and not the gift. " The " Lord looked kindly on Abel and his offerings:" he faw the disposition with which he came, and he was well pleafed. The disposition is more grateful to heaven, when the action which accompanies it engages less of our attention.

Let us then determine to learn prudence, and to imitate rather Jacob, who entertained his father with a dish of homely food, while Esau was beating the woods in quest of rarities. I love not Pharifaical maxims. David fays: " The vows I make to thee, O Lord, " are within my heart, from thence I will " praise thee." And does not the poet Persius " fay; "Ne te quæsiveris extra:"-Look not for thyfelf from home?

It would be endless to quote the opinions of all those authors, profane and sacred, who show us the fignificancy of outward performances. The contrary doctrine would tend to bring back Judaism; to fubflitute the works of the law, and its intolerable

flavery, for the liberty of the gospel, and to the sweet yoke of Christ, and his light burden. Yet our Saviour himself called us to this new profession. We know what, in "the Acts of the "Apostles," was said to those unwise christians, who wished to retain the practices of the law.

Do you then, Abeillard, follow Christ in his indulgent maxims; imitate that apostle, whose name you bear, proportioning your precepts to the weakness of our nature. Allow us ample time to celebrate the praises of our maker. This is the facrifice which is most pleasing to him. He rejected the slesh of bulls and the blood of goats; but the offering of praise he accepted, and he listened to the vows of the heart.

Conclude not, however, that it is my wish to discard all manual labor, even when it may seem necessary. My meaning is, that things which regard the body, and which stand in the way of spiritual duties, should not be held in much estimation. This I can the more insist on, because in the apostolic age it was allowed, that widows and devout women should be maintained at the public cost. They truly may be denominated widows, not only who have lost their husbands, but who have renounced the world. These it is but equitable the church should support. Our Saviour before his death appointed a steward for his mother: and seven deacons were afterwards

chosen to attend to those good women, who were particularly confecrated to God.

Paul, it is true, writing to the Thessalonians, very feverely blamed fome who led a liftless and idle life; he ordered that he who would not work might starve. Our holy Bennet likewise, that idleness might be avoided, enjoined manual labor. But tell me; was Mary idle, when, fitting at the feet of Christ, she listened to his words? Martha, in the mean time, worked for both, and envious of her fifter's repose she murmured, as if she only had to bear the heavy burden of the day.

The fame murmuring is now often heared. It comes from those who, engaged in the business of the world, are yet required to support the ministers of the altar. They complain less of the extortions of a tyrant, than of what they contribute to maintain those, whom they please to call lazy and useless drones. Yet they know that their occupation is, not to hear only the words of Christ, but to meditate on them, and to sing the praises of his name. Is it much to supply a few earthly goods for the many spiritual advantages given in return? And the flaves of the world thall deem it dishonorable to serve the children of heaven! Under the old law, the liberty of repose was fanctioned to the tribe of Levi. They

abecome model leven descons wore, alterer ede

enjoyed no landed property, that nothing might with-hold them from their functions; and they were supported by the labor and contributions of their brethren.

Should you refolve, on the article of fasting, to add any thing to the general discipline of the church; I beg you will weigh it maturely, and confider how far it may be proper for us-In my opinion, the great christian fast is rather to abstain from fin. - In the distribution of our church-fervice, and in the arrangement of our prayers, be likewife as indulgent as you can. Oblige us not often to repeat the same psalms. Bennet, our founder, was so little opinionated, as to permit his fucceffors, on this head, to make any changes they might chuse. In process of time, as the splendor of the church should increase, he knew that alterations might be expedient. - Above all things, we wish you fo to fettle our night-fervice, that no priest or deacon be admitted amongst us at that unseasonable hour. It becomes us, at all times, to be fecluded from the fight and approach of your fex. Our bufiness is with heaven; and let us be on our guard against every danger.

It is now, Sir, your duty, while God gives you life, to make fuch regulations for us, as may be binding on the Paraclet for ever. You, under him, are the founder of this house: be

also, with him, our legislator. When you are gone, we may have a teacher who will be disposed to build on an other foundation. For us, we fear, he may be less solicitous; or we may be less attentive to him. Should he be willing to ferve us, as you are; are we sure he will be equally capable? Do you speak to us, and we will hear. — Farewel.

Abeillard's reply to this letter is itself a volume; I therefore cannot insert it, nor would it be read if I were. It is dry and as uninteresting, as it is prolix.

### EPISTOLA I.

#### HELOISÆ ABÆLARDO.

Domino suo, imo Patri; Conjugi suo, imo Fratri; Ancilla sua, imo Filia; ipsius Uxor, imo Soror; Abalardo Heloisa.

MISSAM ad Amicum pro consolatione Epistolam, dilectissime, vestram ad me forte quidam nuper attulit. Quam ex ipsa statim tituli fronte vestram esse considerans, tanto ardentius eam copi legere, quanto Scriptorem ipsum charius amplector: ut cujus rem perdidi, verbis saltem, tanquam ejus quadam imagine recreer. Erant, memini, hujus Epistolæ sere omnia selle & absinthio plena, quæ scilicet nostræ conversationis miserabilem historiam, & tuas, unice, cruces assiduas referebant.

Complesti re vera in Epistola illa, quod in exordio ejus Amico promifisti, ut videlicet in comparatione tuarum suas moledias nullas vel parvas reputares. Ubi quidem expositis prius magistrorum tuorum in te persecutionibus, deinde in corpus tuum summæ proditionis injuria, ad condispulorum quoque tuorum Alberici videlicet Remensis, & Lotulsi Lombardi execrabilem invidiam, & infestationem nimiam stilum contulisti. - Quorum quidem suggestionibus quid de glorioso illo Theologiæ tuæ opere, quid de te ipso quasi in carcere damnato actum sit, non prætermissti. Inde ad Abbatis tui fratrumque falforum machinationem accessisti, & detractiones illas, tibi gravissimas, duorum illorum Pfeudo-apostolorum à prædictis æmulis in te commotas, atque ad fcandalum plerifque fubortum de nomine Paracleti Oratorio præter

consuetudinem imposito: denique ad intolerabiles illas & adhuc continuas vitæ perfecutiones, crudelissimi scilicet illius exactoris, & pessimorum, quos filigs nominas, Monachorum profectus, miserabilem Historiam confummasti.

Quæ cum ficcis oculis neminem vel legere vel audire posse æstimem : tanto dolores meos amplius renovarunt quanto diligentius fingula expresserunt, & eo magis auxerunt, quo in te adhuc pericula crefcere retulisti; ut omnes pariter de vita tua desperare cogamur, & quotidie ultimos illos de nece tua rumores trepidantia nostra corda, & palpitantia

pedora expedent.

Per ipsum itaque, qui te sibi adhuc quoquomodo protegit, Christum obsecramus; quatenus ancillulas ipfius & tuis crebris literis de his, in quibus adhuc fluctuas, naufragiis certificare digneris; ut nos faltem quæ tibi folæ remansimus, doloris vel gaudii participes habeas. Solent etenim dolenti nonnullam afferre confolationem, qui condolent, & quodlibet onus pluribus impofitum levius fustinetur, sive defertur. Quod si paululum hæc tempestas quieverit, tanto amplius maturandæ funt literæ, quanto funt jucundiores futuræ. De quibscumque autem nobis scribas, non parvum nobis remedium conferes; hoc faltem uno, quod te nostri memorem esse monstrabis.

Quam jucundæ vero fint absentium Literæ amicorum, ipfe nos exemplo proprio Seneca docet, ad amicum Lucilium quodam loco sic scribens : " Quod " frequenter mihi scribis, gratias ago. Nam quo uno " modo potes, te mihi oftendis. Nunquam epiftolam " tuam accipio, quin protinus una fimus." Si imagines nobis amicorum absentium jucundæ sunt, quæ

memoriam renovant, & desiderium absentiæ salso atq, inani solatio levant: quanto jucundiores sunt literæ, quæ amici absentis veras notas afferunt?— Deo autem gratias, quod hoc saltem modo præsentiam tuam nobis reddere nulla invidia prohiberis, nulla difficultate præpediris: nulla (obsecro) negligentia retarderis.

Scripsiti ad amicum prolixæ consolationem Epilolæ & pro adversitatibus quidem suis, sed de tuis. Quas videlicet tuas diligenter commemorans, cum ejus studeres consolationi, nostræ plurimum addidisti desolationi, & dum ejus mederi vulneribus cuperes, nova quædam nobis vulnera doloris inslixisti, & priora auxisti. Sana, obsecro, ipse quæ secisti, qui quæ alii secerunt, curare satagis. Morem quidem amico & socio gessisti, & tam amicitiæ quam societatis debitum persolvisti: sed majori te debito nobis adstrinxisti, quas non tam amicas, quam amicissimas, non tam socias quam silias convenit nominari: vel si quod dulcius & sanctius vocabulum potest excogitari.

Quanto autem debito te erga eas obligaveris, non argumentis, non testimoniis indiget, ut quasi dubium comprobetur: & si omnes taceant, res ipsa clamat. Hujus quippe loci tu, post Deum, solus es sundator, solus hujus Oratorii constructor, solus hujus Congregationis ædisicator. Nihil hic super alienum ædisicasti fundamentum. Totum quod hic est, tua creatio est. Solitudo hæc seris tantum, sive latronibus vacans, nullam hominum habitationem noverat, nullam domum habuerat. In ipsis cubilibus ferarum, in ipsis latibulis latronum, ubi nec nominari Deus solet, divinum erexisti tabernaculum, & Spiritui

Sancto proprium dedicasti templum. Nihil ad hoc ædiscandum ex Regum vel Principum opibus intulisti, cum plurima posses & maxima, ut quicquid sieret, tibi soli posset adscribi. Clerici sive Scholares huc certatim ad disciplinam tuam consluentes omnia ministrabant necessaria; & qui de benesiciis vivebant Ecclesiasticis, nec oblationes facere noverant, sed suscipere, & qui manus ad suscipiendum, non at dandum, habuerant, hic in oblationibus faciendis

prodigi atque importuni fiebant.

Tua itaque, vere tua hæc est proprie in sancto proposito novella plantatio, cujus adhuc teneris maxime plantis frequens, ut proficiant, necessaria est irrigatio. Satis ex ipsa sœminei sexus natura debilis est hæc plantatio: est infirma, etsi non esset nova. Unde diligentiorem culturam exigit & frequentiorem, juxta illud Apostoli: "Ego plantavi, Apollo rigavit, Deus autem incrementum dedit." Plantaverat Apostolus atque fundaverat in fide per prædicationis suæ doctrinam Corinthios, quibus scribebat. Rigaverat postmodum eos ipsius Apostoli discipulus Apollo facris exhortationibus, & fie eis incrementum virtutum divina largita est gratia. Vitis alienæ vineam, quam non plantasti, in amaritudinem tibi conversam, admonitionibus sæpe cassis, et facris frustra fermonibus excolis. Quid tuæ debeas attende, qui sic curam impendis alienæ. Doces & admones rebelles, nec proficis. Frustra ante porcos divini eloquii margaritas spargis. Qui obstinatis tanta impendis, quid obedientibus debeas considera. Qui tanta hostibus largiris, quid siliabus debeas meditare. Atque ut cæteras omittam, quanto erga me te obligaveris debito, penfa: ut

quod devotis communiter debes sæminis, unicæ tuæ devotius solvas.

Quot autem & quantos Tractatus in doctrina, velexhortatione, seu etiam consolatione sanctarum seminarum sancti Patres, & quanta eos diligentia composuerint, tua melius excellentia quam nostra parvitas novit. Unde non mediocri admiratione nostra tenera conversionis initia tua jamdudum oblivio movit, quod nec reverentia Dei, nec amore nostri, nec sanctorum Patrum exemplis admonitus, sluctuantem me & jam diutino mœrore consectam, vel sermone præsentem, vel Epistola absentem consolari tentaveris. — Cui quidem tanto te majore debito noveris obligatum, quanto te amplius nuptialis sædere sacramenti constat esse adstrictum: et eo te magis mihi obnoxium, quo te semper, ut omnibus patet, immoderato amore complexa sum.

Nosti charissime, noverunt omnes, quanta in te amiserim, & quam miserabili casu summa & ubique nota proditio me ipsam quoque mihi tecum abstulerit, et incomparabiliter major sit dolor ex amisfionis modo, quam ex damno. Quo vero major est dolendi causa, majora sunt consolationis adhibenda remedia. Non utique ab alio, fed à teipfo, ut qui folus es in caufa dolendi, folus sis in gratia confolandi. Solus quippe es, qui me contristare, qui me lætificare, seu consolari valeas. Et solus es, qui plurimum id mihi debeas, & tunc maxime, cum universa quæ jusseris in tantum impleverim, ut, cum te in aliquo offendere non possem, meipsam pro jussu tuo perdere suffinerem. Et quod majus est, dictuque mirabile, in tantam versus est amor insaniam, ut quod solum appetebat, hoc ipse sibi sine

spe recuperationis auserret. Cum ad tuam statim justionem tam habitum ipsa quam animum immutarem: ut te tam corporis mei quam animi uni-

cum possessorem ostenderem.

Nihil unquam (Deus scit) in te nisi te requisivi; te pure, non tua concupiscens. Non matrimonii scedera, non dotes aliquas expectavi, non denique meas voluptates, aut voluntates, sed tuas (sicut ipse nosti) adimplere studui. — Et si uxoris nomen sanctius ac validius videtur, dulcius mihi semper extitit amicæ vocabulum; aut si non indigneris, concubinæ vel scorti. Ut quo me videlicet pro te amplius humiliarem, ampliorem apud te consequerer gratiam, & sic etiam excellentiæ tuæ gloriam minus læderem.

Quod & tu ipse, tui gratia, oblitus penitus non suisti, in ea, quam supra memini, ad Amicum Epistola pro consolatione directa. Ubi & rationes nonnullas, quibus te à conjugii nostri infaustis thalamis revocare conabar, exponere non es dedignatus: sed plerisque tacitis, quibus amorem conjugio, libertatem vinculo præserebam. Deum testem invoco, si me Augustus universo præsidens mundo, matrimonii honore dignaretur, totumque mihi orbem consirmaret in perpetuo præsidendum, charius mihi & dignius videretur tua dici meretrix, quam illius Imperatrix. Non enim quo quisque ditior sive potentior, ideo & melior: fortunæ illud est, hoc virtutis.

Nec se minime venalem æstimet esse, quæ libentius ditiori quam pauperi nubit, & plus in marito sua quam ipsa concupiscit. Certe quamcumque ad nuptias hæc concupiscentia ducit, merces ei potius quam gratia debetur. Certum quippe est, eam res ipsas, non hominem sequi, & se, si posset, velle prostituere ditiori. Sicut inductio illa Aspassa Philosophæ apud Socraticum Aschinem cum Xenophonte & uxore ejus habita maniseste convincit. Quam quidem inductionem cum prædicta Philosopha ad reconciliandos invicem illos proposuisset, tali sine conclusit, "Quia, ubi hoc peregeritis, ut neque vir melior, neque sæmina in terris lætior sit: prosecto semper id, quod optimum putabis esse, multo manis xime requiretis: ut & tu maritus sis quam optima mæ, & hæc quam optimo viro nupta sit."

Sancta profecto hæc plufquam Philosophica est sententia, ipsius potius Sophiæ, quam Philosophiæ dicenda. Sanctus hic error, et beata fallacia in conjugatis, ut persecta dilectio illæsa custodiat matrimonii sædera, non tam corporum continentia,

quam animorum pudicitiâ.

At quod error cæteris, veritas mihi manisesta contulerat. Cum quod illæ videlicet de suis æstimarent maritis, hoc ego de te, hoc mundus universus non tam crederet, quam sciret. Ut tanto verior in te meus amor existeret, quanto ab errore longius absisteret. Quis etenim Regum aut Philosophorum tuam exæquare samam poterat? Quæ te regio, aut civitas, seu villa videre non æstuabat? Quis te, rogo, in publicum procedentem conspicere non sestinabat, ac discedentem collo eresto, oculis directis non insestabatur? Quæ conjugata, quæ virgo non concupiscebat absentem, & non exardebat in præsentem? Quæ Regina vel præpotens sæmina gaudiis meis non invidebat vel thalamis?

Duo autem, fateor, tibi specialiter inerant, qui-

bus fæminarum quarum libet animos statim allicere poteras; dictandi videlicet, et cantandi gratia. Quæ cæteros minime philosophos assecutos esse novimus. Quibus quidem, quasi ludo quodam, laborem exercitii recreans Philosophici, pleraque amatorio metro vel rythmo composita reliquisti carmina, quæ præ nimia suavitate, tam dictaminis, quam cantus, sæpius frequentata, tuum in ore omnium nomen incessanter tenebant: ut etiam illiteratos melodiæ dulcedo tui non sineret immemores esse. Atque hinc maxime in amorem tui sæminæ suspirabant. Et cum horum pars maxima carminum nostros decantaret amores, multis me regionibus brevi tempore nunciavit, & multarum in me sæminarum accendit invidiam.

Quod enim bonum animi vel corporis tuam non exornabat adolescentiam? Quam tunc mihi invidentem, nunc tantis privatæ deliciis compati calamitas mea non compellat? Quem, vel quam licet hostem, primitus debita compassio mihi nunc non emolliat?

Et plurimum nocens, plurimum (ut nosti) sum innocens. Non enim rei essectus, sed essicientis assectus, in crimine est. Nec quæ siunt, sed quo animo siunt, æquitas pensat. Quem autem animum in te semper habuerim, solus qui expertus es, judicare potes. Tuo examini cuncta committo, tuo per omnia cedo tessimonio.

Dic unum, si vales, cum post conversionem nostram, quam tu solus facere decrevisti, in tantam tibi negligentiam atque oblivionem venerim, ut nec colloquio præsentis recreer, nec absentis epistola consoler: Dic, (inquam) si vales, aut ego, quod sentio, imo, quod omnes suspicantur, dicam. Concupiscentia te mihi potius quam amicitia fociavit, libidinis ardor potius quam amor. Ubi igitur quod desiderabas cellavit, quicquid propter hoc exhibebas pariter evanuit.

Hæc, dilectissime, non tam mea est, quam omnium conjectura, non tam specialis, quam communis, non tam privata, quam publica. Utinam mihi foli sic videretur, atque alios in excusationem sui amor tuus inveniret, per quos dolor meus paululum resideret. Utinam occasiones singere possem, quibus te excufando mei quoquomodo tegerem utilitatem.

t

t

1

0

Attende, obsecro, quæ requiro; & parva hæc videbuntur & tibi facillima. Dum tui præsentia fraudor, verborum faltem votis, guorum tibi copia est, tuæ mihi imaginis præfenta dulcedinem. Frustra te in rebus dapfilem expecto, si in verbis avarum fustineo. Nunc vero plurimum à te me promereri credideram, cum omnia propter te compleverim, nunc in tuo maxime perseverans obsequio. Quam quidem juvenculam ad monaflicæ conversationis asperitatem non religionis devotio, sed tua tantum pertraxit justio. Ubi si nihil a te promerear, quam frustra laborem, dijudica. Nulla mihi super hoc merces expectanda est à Deo, cujus adhuc amore nihil me constat egisse. - Properantem te ad Deum fecuta fum habitu, imo præcessi. Quasi enim memor uxoris Loth retro conversæ, prius me sacris vestibus & professione Monastica, quam teipsum Deo mancipasti. In quo, fateor, uno minus de te me confidere vehementer dolui atque erubui. Ego autem (Deus scit) ad Vulcania loca te properantem

præcedere vel sequi pro justu tuo minime dubitarem. Non enim mecum animus meus, sed tecum erat. Sed & nunc maxime si tecum non est, nusquam est. Esse vero fine te nequaquam potest. Sed ut tecum bene sit, age, obsecro. Bene autem tecum fuerit, si te propitium invenerit, si gratiam referas pro gratia, modica pro magnis, verba pro rebus. Utinam, dilecte, tua de me dilectio minus confideret, ut solicitior esset: Sed quo te amplius nune fecurum reddidi, negligentiorem fustineo. Memento obsecro quæ fecerim: & quanta debeas attende.

Dum tecum carnali fruere voluptate, utrum id amore, vel libidine agerem, incertum pluribus habebatur. Nunc autem finis indicat, quo id inchoaverim principio. Omnes denique mihi voluptates interdixi, ut tuæ parerem voluntati. Nihil mihi reservavi, nisi sic tuam nunc præcipue sieri. Quæ vero tua sit iniquitas, perpende, si merenti amplius perfolvis minus, imo nihil penitus: præsertim cum parvum sit, quod exigeris, & tibi facillimum.

Per ipsum itaque, cui te obtulisti, Deum te obfecro, ut, quoquo modo potes, tuam mihi præfentiam reddas, consolationem videlicet mihi aliquam rescribendo. Hoc saltem pacto, ut sic recreata divino alacrior vacem obsequio. Cum me ad temporales olim voluptates expeteres, crebris me Epistolis vifitabas, frequenti carmine tuam in ore omnium Heloissam ponebas. Me plateæ omnes, me domus singulæ resonabant. Quanto autem rectius me nunc in Deum, quam tunc in libidinem excitares? Perpende, obsecro, quæ debes, attende, quæ postulo; & longam Epistolam brevi fine concludo. Vale Unice.

#### ABÆLARDI RESPONSIO.

Heloissæ, dilectissimæ Sorori suæ in Cristo, Abælardus, Frater ejus in ipso.

QUOD post nostram à sæculo ad Deum conversionem nondum tibi aliquid consolationis vel exhortationis scripserim, non negligentiæ meæ, sed tuæ, de qua semper plurimum consido, prudentiæ imputandum est. Non enim eam his indigere credidi, cui abundanter, quæ necessaria sunt, divina gratia impertivit, ut tam verbis quam exemplis errantes valeas docere, pusillannimos consolari, tepidos exhortaria

Sicut & facere jamdudum consuevisti, cum sub Abbatissa Prioratum obtineres. Quod si nunc tanta diligentia tuis provideas siliabus, quanta tunc sororibus, satis esse credimus, ut jam omnino supersuam dodrinam vel exhortationem nostram arbitremur. Sinfautem humilitati tuæ hoc aliter videtur; & in iis etiam, quæ ad Deum pertinent, magisterio nostro atque scriptis indiges, super his quæ velis; scribe mihi, ut ad ipsam rescribam, prout Dominus mihi annuerit.

Deo autem gratias, qui gravissimorum & assiduorum periculorum meorum sollicitudinem vestris cordibus inspirans, assidionis meæ participes vos secit, ut orationum suffragio vestrarum Divina miseratio me protegat, & velociter Sathanam sub pedibus nostris conterat. Ad hoc autem præcipue Psalterium, quod a me sollicite requisisti, soror in sæculo quondam chara, nunc in Christo charissima, mittere maturavi. In quo videlicet pro nostris magnis &

VOL. II.

multis excessibus, & quotidiana periculorum meorum instantia, juge Domino sacrificium immoles orationum.

Quantum autem locum apud Deum & Sanctos ejus fidelium orationes obtineant, & maxime mulierum pro charis suis, & uxorum pro viris, multa nobis occurrunt testimonia & exempla. Quod diligenter attendens Apostolus, fine intermissione orare nos admonet. Legimus Dominum Moysi dixisse, " Dimitte me ut 46 irascatur furor meus." Et Hieremiæ : 46 Tu vero, ss inquit, noli orare pro populo hoc, & non obsifas mihi. " Ex quibus videlicet verbis manifeste Dominus iple profitetur orationes Sanctorum, quafi quoddam frænum iræ ipsius immittere, quo scilicet ipfa coërceatur, ne quantum merita peccantium exigunt ipsa in eos sæviat. Ut quem ad vindidam justitia quali spontaneum ducit, amicorum supplicatio fledat, & tanquam invitum quasi vi quadam retineat. Sic quippe oranti vel oraturo dicetur, et Dimitte me, & ne obsistas mihi." Præcipit Dominus ne oretur pro impiis. Orat justus Domino prohibente, & ab ipso impetrat quod postulat, & irati judicis sententiam immutat. Sic quippe de Moyse subjunctum eft . .. Et placatus factus est Dominus 46 de malignitate, quam dixit facere populo fuo.".

Scriptum est alibi de universis operibus Dei: "Dixit, & facta funt." Hoe autem loco & dixisse memoratur, quod de afflictione populus meruerat, & virtute orationis præventus non implesse, quod dixerat. Attende itaque quanta sit orationis virtus, si quod jubemur, oremus: quando id, quod orare Prophetam Deus prohibuit, orando tamen obtinuit, & ab eo quod dixerateum avertit. Cui & alius Propheta dicit: 36 Et cum iratus fueris, mifericordiæ recordabetis."

Audiant id atque advertant Principes terreni, qui occasione præpositæ & edicæ justitiæ suæ obstinati magis quam justi reperiuntur, & se remissos videri erubescunt, si misericordes siant, & mendaces, si edictum suum mutent, vel quod minus provide statuerunt non impleant, etsi verba rebus emendent. Quos quidem recte dixerim Jepthæ comparandos, qui quod stulte voverat, stultius adimplens, unicam intersecit.

Qui vero ejus membrum fieri cupit, tunc cum Pfalmista dicit, "Misericordiam & judicium cantabo "tibi Domine. Misericordia, sicut scriptum est, "judicium exaltat, attendens quod alibi Scriptura "comminatur, Judicium sine misericordia in eum, "qui misericordiam non facit."

Quod diligenter ipse Psalmista considerans, ad supplicationem uxoris Nabal Carmeli juramentum, quod ex justitia secerat, de viro ejus scilicet & ipsius domo delenda, permisericordiam cassavit. Orationem itaque justitiæ prætulit, & quod vir deliquerat, supplicatio uxoris delevit.

In quo quidem tibi, foror, exemplum proponitur, & fecuritas datur, ut si hujus oratio apud hominem tantum obtinuit, quid apud Deum tua pro me audeat instruaris. Plus quippe Deus, qui pater est noster, silios diligit; quam David sœminam supplicantem. Et ille quidem pius & misericors habebatur, sed ipsa pietas & misericordia Deus est. Et quæ tunc supplicabat mulier, sæcularis erat & Laica, nec ex sansæ devotionis professione Domino copulata. Quod si ex te minus ad impetrandum sussicias, sanstus qui tecum est, tam virginum quam viduarum Conventus, quod per te non potes, obtinebit. Cum enim discipulis Veritas dicat. "Ubi duo vel

er tres congregati fuerint in nomine meo, ibi fum a in medio eorum." Et rurfum, "Si duo ex vobis a consenserint de omni re quam petierunt, fiet illud a Patre meo:" Quis non videat quantum apud Deum valeat sanctæ congregationis frequens oratio? Si, ut Apostolus asserit, " Multum valet oratio justi affidua, " quid de multitudine sanctæ congregationis

sperandum est?

Nosti, charissima foror, ex Homilia Beati Gregorii, quantum fuffragium invito feu contradicenti fratri oratio fratrum naturæ attulerit. De quo jam ad extremum ducto quanta periculi anxietate miserrima ejus anima laboraret, & quanta desperatione & tædio vitæ fratres ab oratione revocaret, quid ibi diligenter scriptum sit, tuam minime latet prudentiam. Atque utinam confidentius te, & fancarum Conventum fororum, ad orationem invitet, ut me scilicet vobis ipfe vivum custodiat, per quem, Paulo attestante, mortuos etiam suos de resurrectione mulieres acceperunt.

Si enim veteris & Evangelici Testamenti paginas revolvas, invenies maxima ressuscitationis miracula folis vel maxime fæminis exhibita fuisse, pro ipsis, vel de ipfis facta. Duos quippe mortuos suscitatos ad fupplicationes maternas vetus commemorat Teffamentum, per Heliam scilicet, & ipsius discipulum Helifæum. Evangelium vero trium tantum mortuorum suscitationem à Domino sactam continet, qua mulieribus exhibita, maxime illud, quod fupra commemoravimus, Apostolicum dictum rebus suis confirmant. "Acceperunt mulieres de resurrectione a mortuos suos." Filium quippe viduæ ad portam civitatis Naim suscitatum matri reddidit, ejus compassione compunctus. Lazarum quoque amicum suum

ad obsecrationem sororum ejus, Mariæ videlicet ac Marthæ, suscitavit. Quo etiam Archisynagogi siliæ hanc ipsam gratiam ad petitionem patris impendente, "Mulieres de resurrectione mortuos suos acceperunt:" cum hæc videlicet suscitata proprium de morte receperit corpus, sicut illæ corpora suorum. Et paucis quidem intervenientibus hæ sacæ sunt resuscitationes. Vitæ vero nostræ conversationem multiplex vestræ devotionis oratio sacile obtinebit.

Quarum tam abstinentia quam continentia Deo sacrata, quanto ipse gratior habetur, tanto ipsum propitiorem inveniet. Et plerique sortassis horum, qui suscitati sunt, nec sideles extiterunt, sicut nec vidua prædicta, cui non roganti silium Dominus suscitavit, sidelis extitisse legitur. Nos autem invicem non solum sidei colligat integritas, verum etiam ejusdem religionis prosessio sociat.

Ut autem sacrosancti Collegii vestri nunc omittam Conventum, in quo plurimarum virginum ac viduarum devotio Domino jugiter deservit; ad to unam veniam, cujus apud Deum fanctitatem plurimum non ambigo posse, & que potes mihi præcipue debere, maxime in tantæ adversitatis laboranti discrimine. Memento itaque semper in orationibus tuis ejus, qui specialiter est tuus, & tanto confidentius in oratione vigila, quanto id effe tibi recognoscis justius, & ob hoc ipsi qui orandus est acceptabilius. Exaudi, obsecro, aure cordis, quod fæpius audisti aure corporis. Scriptum est in Proverbiis, "Mulier diligens corona est viro suo." Et rurfum, " Qui invenit mulierem bonam, invenit " bonum : & hauriet jucunditatem à Domino." Et iterum, "Domus & divitize dantur a parentibus, à Ecclesiastico, "Mulieris bonæ beatus vir." Et post pauca, "Pars bona, mulier bona." Et juxta authoritatem Apostolicam, "Sanctificatus est vir instidelis per mulierem sidelem."

Cujus quidem rei experimentum in regno præcipua nostro, id est Francorum, divina specialiter exhibuit gratia, cum ad orationem videlicet uxoris magis quam ad fanctorum prædicationem, Clodoveo Rege ad fidem Christi converso, regnum fic universum divinis legibus mancipaverunt, ut exemplo maxime superiorum ad orationis instantiam inferiores provocarentur. Ad quam quidem instantiam Dominica nos vehementer invitans parabola : " Ille, inquit, si persevaverit pulsans : dico " vobis, quia si non dabit ei, eo quod amicus ce illius sit, propter improbitatem ejus surget, & " dabit ei quotquot habet necessarios." Ex hac profecto, ut ita dicam, orationis improbitate, ficut supra memini, Moyses divinæ justitiæ severitatem enervavit, & fententiam immutavit.

Nosti, dilectissima, quantum charitatis affectum præsentiæ meæ Conventus olim vester in oratione solitus sit exhibere. Ad expletionem namque quotidie singularum Horarum specialem pro me Domino supplicationem hanc offerre consuevit, ut Responso proprio, cum Versu ejus præmiss & decantatis, preces his & Collectam in hunc modum subjungeret. Responsum. «Non me derelinquas, nec discuedas à me Domine." Vers. «In adjutorium meum semperintende Domine." Preces. «Salvum fac servum tuum Deus meus sperantem in te.

" ad te veniat." Oratio. " Deus qui per fervulum s tuum ancillulas tuas in nomine tuo dignatus es " aggregare, te quæsumus; ut tam ipsi quam nobis " in tua tribuas perseverare voluntate. Per Do-" minum, &c." Nunc autem absenti mihi tanto amplius orationum vestrarum opus est fuffragio, quanto majoris anxietate periculi constringor. Supplicando itaque postulo, & postulando supplico, quatenus præcipue nunc absens experiar, quam vere charitas vestra erga absentem extiterit, singulis videlicet Horis expletis, hunc orationis propriæ modum adnectens. Resp. " Ne derelinquas me, Domi-" ne pater & dominator vitæ meæ, ut non corruam " in conspectu adversariorum meorum, & ne gaudeat " de me inimicus meus." Vers. " Apprehende arma " & scutum, & exurge in adjutorium mihi. Ne " gaudeat." Preces. " Salvum fac fervum tuum Deus " meus sperantem in te. Mitte ei Domine auxilium " de fancto: & de Sion tuere eum. Esto ei Domine " turris fortitudinis à facie inimici. Domine exaudi orationem meam : & clamor meus ad te veniat." Oratio. " Deus qui per servum tuum ancillulas tuas " in nomine tuo dignatus es aggregare, te quæsuumus, ut eum ab omni adversitate protegas, & an-" cillis tuis incolumem reddas. Per Dominum &c."

Quod si me Dominus in manibus inimicorum tradiderit, scilicet ut ipsi prævalentes me intersiciant, aut quocunque casu viam universæ carnis absens a vobis ingrediar: cadaver obsecro nostrum, ubicunque vel sepultum, vel expositum jacuerit, ad Cimiterium vestrum deserri faciatis, ubi siliæ nostræ, imo in Christo sorores, sepulchrum nostrum sæpius videntes, ad preces pro me Domino sundendas

amplius invitentur. Nullum quippe locum animæ dolenti, de peccatorum suorum errore desolatæ, tutiorem ac falubriorem arbitror, quam eum qui vero Paracleto, id est consolatori proprie consecratus est, & de ejus nomine specialiter infignitus. Nec Christianæ sepulturæ locum rectius apud aliquos fideles, quam apud fæminas in Christo devotas confiftere censeo. Que de Domini Jesu Christi sepultura solicitæ, eam unguentis præciosis, & prævenerunt & subsecutæ funt, & circa ejus sepulchrum fludiose vigilantes, & sponsi mortem lachrimabiliter plangentes, ficut scriptum est, " Mulieres sedentes ad monumentum lamentabantur flentes Dominum." Primo ibidem de resurrectione ejus Angelica apparitione & allocutione funt consolatæ, & statim ipsius de resurrectionis gaudia, eo bis eis apparente, percipere meruerunt & manibus contrectare.

Illud autem demum super omnia postulo, ut qua nunc de corporis mei periculo nimia sollicitudine laboratis, tunc præcipue de salute animæ sollicitæ, quantum dilexeritis vivum exhibeatis defuncto, orationum videlicet vestrarum speciali quodam & proprio suffragio. Vive, vale, vivantque tez, va-leantque sorores, Vivite, sed Christo queso mei memores, and all achieve members in adio a

Out & reall Science of analysis, wholeoners un-L. Maisdrason servasiaslavana de la come destruirable. an english mena alberta estati da ammurada ana while important trainers objects voltage placens. her yel legalistic, well exported inches! ad Confe. settion side his stimum laster wither some and la Chille, harries, (civilences softeen fapius vidence and previous processor the manufacture

## Applied E P I S T O L A I Lot and

# boop mulgran a company series & A.

Unico suo post Christum, Unica sua in Christo.

MIROR, (Unice meus!) quod præter consuetudinem Epistolarum, imo contra ipsum ordinem naturalem rerum, in ipsa fronte salutationis Epistolaris me tibi præponere præsumpsisti: sæminam videlicet viro, uxorem marito, ancillam Domino, Monialem Monacho & Sacerdoti, Diaconissam Abbati. Rectus quippe ordo est & honessus, ut quid ad superiores vel ad pares scribunt, corum, quibus scribunt, nomina suis anteponant. Sin autem ad inferiores, præcedunt scriptionis ordine, qui præcedunt rerum dignitate.

Illud etiam non parya admiratione susceptimus, quod, quibus consolationis remedium afferre debuisti, desolationem auxisti; &, quas mitigare debueras, excitasti lachrymas. Quæ enim nostrum siccis oculis audire possit, quod circa sinem Epistolæ posuisti dicens: "Quod si me Dominus in manus inimicom rum tradiderit, ut me scilicet prævalentes intermissionet, et "Quod si me Dominus in manus inimicom si rum tradiderit, ut me scilicet prævalentes intermissionet, et "Quod si me Dominus in manus inimicom si rum tradiderit, ut me scilicet prævalentes intermissionet, et "Quod si me Dominus in manus inimicom si si si gravior. Te nociliulas sus adeo Deus obliviscatur, ut eas tibi superstites reservet. Nunquam nobis vitam illam concedat, quæ omni genere mortis sit gravior. Te nostras exequias celebrare, te nostras Deo animas convenit commendare, & quas Deo aggregasti, ad ipsum præmittere, ut nulla amplius de ipsis per-

turberis sollicitudine, & tanto lætior nos subsequaris, quanto securior de nostra salute jam sueris.

Parce obsecto, Domine, parce hujusmodi dictis, quibus miseras miserrimas facias; & ut ipsum quod-cunque vivimus ne nobis auseres ante mortem. Sufficit diei malitia sua, & dies illa omnibus, quos inveniet, satis secum sollicitudinis afferet omni amaritudine involuta. "Quid enim necesse est, inquit Seneca, mala arcessere, & ante mortem vitam perdere?"

Rogas, unice, ut quocunque casu nobis absens hane vitam finieris, ad Cimiterium nostrum corpus tuum adferri faciamus : ut orationum scilicet nostrarum ex assidua tui memoria ampliorum assequaris fructum. At vero quomodo memoriam tui à nobis labi posse suspicaris? Aut quod orationi tempus tunc erit commodum, quando fumma perturbatio nihil permittet quietum? cum nec anima rationis fensum, nec lingua sermonis retinebit usum? Cum mens infana in ipfum, ut ita dicam, Deum magis, irata quam pacata, non tam orationibus ipsum placabit quam querimoniis irritabit? Flere tunc miseris tantum vacabit, non orare licebit, & te magis subsequi quam sepelire maturandum erit, ut potius & nos consepeliendæ simus quam sepelire possimus. Quæ cum in te nostram amiserimus vitam vivere te recedente nequaquam poterimus. Atque utinain nec tunc usque possimus! Mortis tuz mentio mors quædam nobis eft. Ipfa autem mortis hujus veritas quid, fi nos inveniret, futura est? Nunquam Deus annuat, ut hoc tibi debitum superstites persolvamus, ut hoc tibi patrocinio subveniamus, quod à te penitus expedamus. In hoc utinam te præcessuræ, non fecuturæ.

Parce itaque obsecto nobis, parce itaque unicæ saltem tuæ, hujusmodi scilicet supersedendo verbis, quibus, tanquam gladiis mortis, nostras transverberas animas: ut quod mortem prævenit ipsa morte gravius sit.—Consectus mærore animus quietus non est, nec Deo sincere potest vacare mens perturbationibus occupata. Noli, obsecto, divinum impedire servitium, cui nos maxime mancipasti. Omne inevitabile, quod cum acciderit, mærorem maximum secum inseret, ut subito veniat optandum est; ne timore inutili diu ante cruciet, cui nulla succurri providentia potest. Quod & Poeta bene considerans Deum precatur dicense

Sit subitum quodcunque paras, fit cæca suturi Mens hominum sati. Licent sperare timenti.

LUCAN.

Quid autem te admisso sperandum mihi superest? aut quæ in hac peregrinatione causa remanendi, ubi nullum nisi te remedium habeam, & nullum aliud in te nisi hoc ipsum, quod vivis: omnibus de te mihi aliis voluptatibus interdictis, cui nec præsentia tua concessum est frui, ut quandoque mihi reddi valeam?

O, si fas sit dici, crudelem mihi per omnia Deum! O inclementem clementiam! O infortunatam fortunam! quæ jam in me universi conaminis sui tela in tantum consumpsit, ut quibus in alios sæviat jam non habeat! Plenam in me pharetram exhausit, ut frustra jam alii bella ejus formident. Nec si ei adhuc telum aliquod superesset, locum in me vulneris inveniret. Unum inter tot vulnera metuit, ne morte supplicia siniam. Et cum interimere non cesset, interitum tamen quem accelerat, timet. O me

miserarum miserrimam! infelicium infelicissimam! quæ, quanto universis in te fæminis prælata sublimiorem obtinui gradum, tanto hinc prostrata graviorem in te & in me pariter perpessa sum casum. Quanto quippe altior ascendentis gradus, tanto gravior corruentis casus. Quam mihi nobilium ac potentium fæminarum fortuna unquam præponere potuit aut æquare? Quam denique adeo dejecit & dolore conficere potuit? Quam in te mihi gloriam contulit? Quam in te mihi ruinam intulit? Quam mihi vehemens in utramque partem extitit, ut nec in bonis nec in malis modum habuerit? Quæ, ut me miserrimam omnium saceret, omnibus ante beatiorem effecerat : ut, cum, quanta perdidi, penfarem, tanto me majora confumerent lamenta, quanto me majora oppresserant damna: & tanto major amissorum succederet dolor, quanto major possessorum præcesserat amor, & summæ voluptatis gaudia summa mæroris terminaret triffitia.

Er ut ex injuria major indignatio sutgeret, omnia in nobis æquitatis jura pariter sunt perversa. Dum enim solliciti amoris gaudiis srueremur, & ut turpiore, sed expressore vocabulo utar, sornicationi vacaremus, divina nobis severitas pepercit. Ut autem illicita licitis correximus, & honore conjugii turpitudinem sornicationis operuimus, ira Domini manum suam super nos vehementer aggravavit, & immaculatum non pertulit thorum, qui diu ante sustinuerat pollutum.

Deprehensis in quovis adulterio viris hæc satis esset ad vindictam pæna, quam pertulisti. Quod ex adulterio promerentur alii, id tu ex conjugio incurristi, per quod jam te omnibus satissecisse con-

317

fidebas injuriis. Quod fornicatoribus suis adulteræ, hoc propria uxor tibi contulit. Nec cum pristinis vacaremus voluptatibus, sed cum jam ad tempus segregati castius viveremus, te quidem Parisiis Scholis præsidente, & me ad imperium tuum Argenteoli cum Sanctimonialibus conversante. Divisis itaque sic nobis ad invicem, ut tu studiosius Scholis, ego liberius orationi sive sacræ lectionis meditationi vacarem; & tanto nobis sanctius, quanto castius de gentibus, solus in corpore luisti, quod duo pariter commiseramus. Solus in pæna suisti, duo in culpa: & qui

minus debueras, totum pertulisti.

Quanto enim amplius te pro me humiliando fatisfeceras, & me pariter & totum genus meum sublimaveras; tanto te minus tam apud Deum, quam apud illos proditores, obnoxium pænæ reddideras. O me miseram in tanti sceleris causa progenitam! O summam in viros summos & consuetam sæminarum perniciem! Hinc de muliere cavenda scriptum est in Proverbiis: " Nunc ergo, fili, audi me, & attende verbis oris mei. Ne abstrahatur in viis illius mens tua, neque " decipiaris semitis ejus. Multos enim vulneratos de-" jecit, & fortissimi quique interfecti sunt ab ea. Viæ " inferi domus ejus penetrantes in inferiora mortis." Et in Ecclesiaste: " Lustravi universa animo meo, & " inveni amariorem morte mulierem, quæ laqueus venatorum est, & fagena cor ejus. Vincula enim " funt manus ejus. Qui placet Deo, effugiet eam. " Qui autem peccator eft, capietur ab illa."

Prima statim mulier de Paradiso virum captivavit, & quæ ei à Domino creata suerat in auxilium, in summum ei conversa est exitium. Fortissimum illum

Nazarenum Domini, & Angelo nunciante conceptum, Dalila fola superavit, & eum inimicis proditum & oculis privatum ad hoc tandem dolor compulit, ut se pariter cum ruina hostium opprimeret. Sapientissimum omnium Salomonem, sola quam sibi copulaverat mulier infatuavit, & in tantam compulit infaniam, ut eum quem ad ædificandum fibi Dominus templum elegerat, patre ejus David, qui justus fuerat, in hoc reprobato, ad idololatriam ipsa usque in finem vitæ dejiceret; ipso quem tam verbis quam scriptis prædicabat atque docebat, divino cultu derelico. Job fanctissimus in uxore novissimam atque gravissimam sustinuit pugnam, quæ eum ad maledicendum Deo stimulabat. Et callidisfimus temptator hoc optime noverat, quod sæpius expertus fuerat; virorum videlicet ruinam in uxoribus esse facillimam.

Qui denique etiam usque ad nos consuetam extendens malitiam, quem de fornicatione sternere non potuit, de conjugio temptavit: & bono male est usus, qui malo male uti non est permissus.

Deo saltem super hoc gratias, quod me ille, ut supra-positas sæminas, in culpam ex consensu non traxit; quam tamen in causam commissæ malitiæ ex essentia convertit. Sed & si purget animum meum innocentia, nec hujus reatum sceleris consensus incurrat: peccata tamen multa præcesserunt, quæ me penitus immunem ab hujus reatu sceleris esse non sinunt. Quod videlicet diu ante carnalium illecebrarum voluptatibus serviens, ipsa tunc merui quod nunc plector, & præcedentium in me peccatorum sequentia merito sacta sunt pæna. Etiam malis initiis perversus imputandus est exitus. Atque ati-

,

nam hujus præcipuæ commissi dignam agere valeam pænitentiam, ut pæna illi tuæ vulneris illati ex longa saltem pænitentiæ contritione vicem quoque modo recompensare queam: & quod tu ad horam in corpore pertulisti, ego in omni vita, ut justum est, in contritione mentis suscipiam, & hoc tibi saltem modo, si non Deo, satisfaciam,

n-

t.

bi

n-

bi

ui

m

m

t.

re

ıæ

if-

us

ri-

X-

re

le

ut

n

ex

m

n-

ne

n

e-

bc

nı

i-

ti-

Si enim vere miserrimi mei animi profitear infirmitatem, qua pœnitentia Deum placare valeam non invenio, quem super hac semper injuria, summæ crudelitatis arguo; & ejus dispensationi contraria, magis eum ex indignatione offendo, quam ex pœnitentiæ satissactione mitigo. Quomodo etiam pænitentia peccatorum dicitur, quantacunque sit corporis afflictio, si mens adhuc ipsam peccandi retinet voluntatem, & pristinis æstuat desideriis? Facile quidem est quemlibet, confitendo peccata seipsum accusare, aut etiam in exteriori satisfactione corpus affligere. Difficillimum vero est à desideriis maximarum voluptatum avellere animum. Unde & merito sanctus Job cum præmisisset, " Dimittam adversum me eloquium " meum," id est laxabo linguam, & aperiam os per confessionem in peccatorum meorum accusationem: flatim adjunxit, "Loquar in amaritudine animæ meæ." Quod Beatus exponens Gregorius, "Sunt, inquit, " nonnulli, qui apertis vocibus culpas fatentur, sed tamen in confessione gemere nesciunt, & lugenda " gaudentes dicunt." Unde qui culpas fuas detestans loquitur, restat necesse est ut has in amaritudine animæ loquatur; ut hæc ipfa amaritudo puniat, quicquid lingua per mentis judicium accufat.

Sed hæc quidem amaritudo veræ pænitentiæ quam rara fit Beatus diligenter attendens Ambrofius: " Facilius, inquit, inveni, qui innocentiam servave" runt, quam qui pœnitentiam egerunt." In tantum vero illæ, quas pariter exercuimus, amantium voluptates dulces mihi suerunt, ut nec displicere mihi, nec vix à memoria labi possint. Quocunque loco me vertam, semper se oculis meis cum suis ingerunt desideriis. Nec etiam dormienti suis illusionibus parcunt.

Înter îpfa Missarum solemnia, ubi purior esse debet orațio, obscena earum voluptatum phantasmata ita sibi penitus miserrimam captivant animam, ut turpitudinibus illis magis quam oraționi vacem. Que cum ingemiscere debeam de commissis, suspiro potius de amissis. Nec solum que egimus, sed loca pariter e tempora, în quibus hec egimus, ita tecum nostro infixa sunt animo, ut in ipsis omnia tecum agam.

nec dormiens etiam ab his quiescam.

Nonnunquam & iplo motu corporis animi mei cogitationes deprehenduntur, nec à verbis temperans improvisis. O vere me miseram & illa conquestione ingemiscentis anima dignissimam! "Infelix ego homo! quis me liberabit de corpore mortis hujus?" Utinam & quod sequitur veraciter addere queam! "Gratia Dei persesum Christum Dominum nostrum."

Hæc te gratia, charissime, prævenit, & ab his tibissimulis, unam corporis plagam medendo, multas in anima sanavit; & in quo tibi amplius adversari Deus creditur, propitior invenitur: more quidem sidelissimi medici, qui non parcit dolori, ut consulat saluti. Hos autem in me stimulos carnis, hæc incentiva libidinis, ipse juvenilis servor ætatis, & jucundissimarum experientia voluptatum, plurimum accendunt:

accendunt; & tanto amplius sua me impugnatione opprimunt, quanto infirmior est natura, quam oppugnant.

Castam me prædicant, qui non deprehenderunt hypocritam. Munditiam carnis conferent in virtutem, cum non fit corporis, sed animi virtus. Aliquid laudis apud homines habens, nihil apud Deum mereor, qui cordis & renum probator est, & in abscondito videt. Religiosa hoc tempore judicor, in quo jam parva pars religionis non est hypocrisis: ubi ille maximis extollitur laudibus, qui humanum non offendit judicium. Et hoc fortaffis aliquo modo laudabile, & Deo acceptabile quoquo modo videtur, si quis videlicet exterioris operis exemplo. quacunque intentione, non sit Ecclesiæ scandalo, nec jam per ipsum apud infideles nomen Domini blasphemetur, nec apud carnales professionis suz ordo infametur. Atque hoc quoque nonnullum est divinæ gratiæ donum, ex cujus videlicet munere venit non folum bona facere, fed etiam à malis abstinere. Sed frustra istud præcedit, ubi illud non fuccedit, ficut scriptum est: " Declina à malo, & " fac bonum." Et frustra utrumque geritur quod amore Dei non agitur.

In omni autem (Deus scit) vitæ meæ statu, te magis adhue ossendere, quam Deum vereor: tibi placere amplius quam ipsi appeto. Tua me ad religionis habitum jussio, non divina traxit dilectio. Vide quam infelicem, & omnibus miserabiliorem ducam vitam, si tanta hie srustra sustineo: nihil habitura remunerationis in suturo. Diu te, sicut multos, simulatio mea sesellit, ut religioni deputares hypocrissi: & ideo nostris te maxime commendans orationibus, quod à te expecto, a me postulas.

Vol. II.

m

0

18

et

ta

r-

æ

15

er

0

i,

ci

15

ie

0

!

98

is

18

ri

nı

at

1-

1-

m

Noli, obsecro, de me tanta præsumere, ne mihi cesses orando subvenire. Noli æstimare sanam, ne medicaminis subtrahas gratiam. Noli non egentem credere, ne differas in necessitate subvenire. Noli validam putare, ne prius corruam quam sustentes labentem. Multis ficta sui laus nocuit, & præsidium quo indigebant, abstulit. Per Esaiam Dominus clamat, " Popule meus, qui te beatificant, ipfi tè decipiunt, & viam gressum tuoram dissipant." Et per Ezechielem, " Væ qui consuitis, inquit, pulvillos sub omni cubitu manus, & cervicalia sub " capite ætatis universæ ad decipiendas animas." E contra autem per Salomonem dicitur, "Verba se fapientum quali stimuli, & quali clavi in altum defixi, qui videlicet vulnera nesciunt palpare, " fed pungere."

Quiesce, obsecto, à laude mea, ne turpem adulationis notam & mendacii crimen incurras: aut si quod in me suspicaris bonum, ipsum laudatum vanitatis aura ventilet. Nemo medicinæ peritus interiorem morbum ex exterioris habitus inspectione dijudicat. Nulla, quicquid meriti apud Deum obtinent, quæ reprobis æq; ut electis communia sunt. Hæc autem ea sunt, quæ exterius aguntur, quæ nulli Sanctorum tam studiose peragunt, quantum hypocritæ.

Pravum est cor hominis, & inscrutabile etiam: quis cognoscet illud? Et sunt viæ hominis quæ videntur restæ: novissima autem illius deducunt ad mortem. Temerarium est in eo judicium hominis, quod divino tantum reservatur examini. Unde & scriptum est: "Ne laudaveris hominem in vita." Ne tunc videlicet hominem laudes, dum laudando sacere non laudabilem potes.

Tanto autem mihi tua laus in me periculosior est, quanto gratior: & tanto amplius ea capior & delector, quanto amplius tibi per omnia placere studeo. Time obsecro semper de me potius quam considas, ut tua semper sollicitudine adjuver. Nunc vero præcipue timendum est, ubi nullum incontinentiæ meæ superest in te remedium.

hi

ne

m

oli

tes

ım

la-

tè

Et

ıl-

du

ba

m

e,

a-

fi

a-

m

it.

æ

m

:

æ

e

Nolo me ad virtutem exhortans, & ad pugnam provocans, dicas: "Nam virtus in infirmitate perfici"tur: &, non coronabitur nifi qui legitime certa"verit." Non quæro coronam victoriæ. Satis est mihi periculum evitare. Tutius evitatur periculum, quam committitur bellum. Quocunque me angulo cœli Deus collocet, satis mihi saciet. Nullus ibi cuiquam invidebit, cum singulis quod habebunt suffecerit.

Cui quidem confilio nostro, ut ex authoritate quoque robur adjungam, Beatum audiamus Hieronymum: "Fateor imbecillitatem meam, nolo spe "victoriæ pugnare, ne perdam aliquando victoriam." Quid necesse est certa dimittere, & incerta sectari?

## EPISTOLA II.

# ABÆLARDI.

Sponfæ Christi, Servus ejusdem

IN quatuor, memini, circa quæ Epistolæ tuæ novissimæ summa consistit, offensæ tuæ commotionem expressisti. Primo quidem super hoc conquereris, quod præter consuetudinem Epistolarum, imo etiam contra ipsum naturalem ordinem rerum, Epistola nostra tibi directa te mihi in salutatione præposuit. Secundo, quod cum vobis consolationis potius remedium afferre debuissem, desolationem auxi, & quas mitigare debueram lachrymas, excitavi. Illud videlicet ibidem adjungens, "Quod si me Dominus" in manus inimicorum tradiderit, ut me scilicet prævalentes intersiciant," &c. Tertio vero veterem illam & assiduam querelam tuam in Deum adjecisti, de modo videliet nostræ conversionis ad Deum, & crudelitate proditionis illius in me commisse. Denique accusationem tui contra nostram in te laudem opposuisti, non cum supplicatione modica, ne id deinceps præsumerem.

Quibus quidem singulis rescribere decrevi, non tam pro excusatione mea, quam pro doctrina vel exhortatione tua; ut eo scilicet libentius petitionibus assentias nostris, quo eas rationabilius sactas intellexeris; & tanto me amplius exaudias in tuis, quanto reprehensibilem minus invenies in meis; tantoque amplius verearis contemuere, quanto minus

videris dignum reprehensione.

De ipso autem nostræ salutationis, ut dicis, ordine præpostero, juxta tuam quoque, si diligenter attendas, actum est sententiam. Id enim quod omnibus patet, tu ipsa indicasti, ut cum videlicet ad superiores scribitur, eorum nomina præponantur. Te vero ex tunc me superiorem sactam intelligas, quod domina mea esse cæpisti, Domini mei sponsa essecta, juxta illud Beati Hieronimi ad Eustochium ita scribentis: "Hæc idcirco, domina mea Eusto- chium, scribo. Dominam quippe debeo vocare fonsam Domini mei." Felix talium commercium nuptiarum, ut homunculi miseri prius uxor, nunc

it.

e-

&

bı

us

et

e-

d-

ad

m-

m

ne

on

rel

ni-

tas

is,

ın-

us

or-

ter

m-

ad

Te

od

ef-

ım

to-

are

ım

ne

in summi Regis thalamis sublimeris. Nec ex hujus honoris privilegio priori tantummodo viro, fed quibuscunque servis ejusdem Regis prælata. Ne mireris igitur, fi tam vivus quam mortuus me vestris præcipue commendem orationibus; cum jure publico conflet, apud dominos plus eorum sponsas intercedendo posse, quam ipsorum famulas, dominas amplius quam fervos. In quarum quidem typo Regina illa & summi Regis sponsa diligenter describitur, cum in Pfalmo dicitur, "Aftitit Regina à dextris " tuis." Ac si aperte dicatur, ista juncto latere sponso familiarissime adhæret, & pariter incedit, cæteris omnibus quasi à longe absistentibus, vel fubsequentibus. - De hujus excellentia prærogativæ sponsa in Canticis exultans, illa, ut ita dicam, quam Moyfes duxit, Æthiopissa dicit: "Nigra sum, sed " formosa, filiæ Hierusalem. Ideo dilexit me Rex, " & introduxit me in cubiculum fuum." Et rurfum, " Nolite confiderare quod fusca sum, quia deco-" loravit me Sol." - In quibus quidem verbis cum generaliter anima describatur contemplativa, quæ specialiter Sponsa Christi dicitur, expressius tamen ad vos hoc pertinere ipse etiam vester exterior habitus loquitur. Ipfe quippe cultus exterior nigrorum, aut vilium indumentorum, instar lugubris habitus bonarum viduarum mortuos, quos dilexerant viros, plangentium, vos in hoc mundo, juxta Apostolum, vere viduas, & defolatas oftendit flipendiis Ecclesiæ sustentandas. De quarum etiam viduarum luctu super occisum earum sponsum Scriptura commemorat, dicens: "Mulieres fedentes ad monu-" mentum lamentabantur flentes Dominum." - Habet autem Æthiopissa exteriorem in carne nigredi-

nem, & quantum ad exteriora pertinet, cæteris apparet fæminis deformior: cum non sit tamen in interioribus dispar, sed in plerisque etiam formosior. atque candidior, ficut in offibus, seu dentibus. Quorum videlicet dentium candor in ipso etiam commendatur Sponso, cum dicitur: "Et dentes " ejus lace candidiores." Nigra itaque in exterioribus, sed formosa in interioribus est; quia in hac vita crebris adversitatum tribulationibus corporaliter afflica quasi in carne nigrescit exterius, juxta illud Apostoli: " Omnes qui volunt pie vivere in Christo " tribulationem patientur," Sicut enim candido prosperum, ita non incongrue nigro designatur adversum. Intus autem, quali in ossibus, candet, quia in virtutibus ejus anima pollet, sicut scriptum est: "Omnis gloria ejus filiæ Regis ab intus." -Offa quippe, quæ interiora funt, exteriori carne circumdata, & ipsius carnis, quam gerunt vel suftentant, robur ac fortitudo funt, bene animam exprimunt, quæ carnem ipsam, cui inest, vivisicat, fustentat, movet, atque regit, atque ei omnem valetudinem ministrat. Cujus quidem est candor, sive decor, ipsæ, quibus adornatur, virtutes. - Nigra quoque est in exterioribus, quia dum in hac peregrinatione adhuc exulat, vilem & abjectam fe tenet in hac vita; ut in illa sublimetur, quæ est abscondita cum Christo in Deo, patriam jam adepta. -Sic vero eam sol verus decolorat, quia calestis amor Sponsi eam sie humiliat, vel tribulationibus cruciat; ne eam scilicet prosperitas extollat. Decolorat eam fic, id est dissimilem eam à cæteris facit, quæ terrenis inhiant, & fæculi quærunt gloriam; ut sic ipfa vere lilium convallium per humilitatem efficiatur:

non lilium quidem montium, ficut illæ videlicet fatuæ virgines, quæ de munditia carnis, vel abstinentia exteriore, apud se intumescentes, æstu temptationum aruerunt. - Bene autem filias Hierusalem, id est, imperfectiores alloquens sideles, qui filiarum potius, quam filiorum nomine digni funt, dicit : " Nolite me considerare , quod fusca fim , " quia decoloravit me Sol." Ac si apertius dicat: quod sic me humilio, vel tam viriliter adversitates fustineo, non est meæ virtutis; sed ejus gratiæ. cui deservio. Aliter solent hæretici, vel hypocritæ, quantum ad faciem hominum spedat, spe terrenæ gloriæ sese vehementer humiliare, vel multa inutiliter tolerare. De quorum hujusmodi abjectione, vel tribulatione, quam sustinent, vehementer mirandum est; cum sint omnibus miserabiliores hominibus, qui nec præsentis vitæ bonis, nec futuræ fruuntur. - Hoc itaque Sponsa diligenter considerans dicit : " Nolite mirari, cur id faciam." Sed de illis mirandum est, qui inutiliter terrenæ laudis desiderio æstuantes terrenis se privant commodis, tam hic, quam in futuro miseri. Qualis quidem fatuarum virginum continentia est, quæ a janua sunt exclusæ. - Bene etiam, quia nigra est, ut diximus, & formosa, dilectam, & introductam se dicit in cubiculum Regis, id est, in secretum, vel quietem contemplationis, & lectulum illum, de quo eadem alibi dicit: " In lectulo meo per noctes quæsivi, " quem diliget anima mea." Ipfa quippe nigredinis deformitas occultum potius quam manifestum, & fecretum magis, quam publicum amat. Et quæ talis est uxor, secreta potius viri gaudia, quam manifesta desiderat, & in lecto magis vult sentiri quam

in mensa videri. - Et frequenter accidit, ut nigrarum caro fæminarum, quanto est in aspectu deformior, tanto fit in tactu fuavior: atque ideo earum voluptas secretis gaudiis, quam publicis gratior sit, & convenientior, & earum viri, ut illis oblectentur, magis eas in cubiculum introducunt, quam adpublicum educunt.-Secundum quam quidem metaphoram bene spiritualis Sponsa cum præmisisset: "Nigra sum. se sed formosa," statim adjunxit: "Ideo dilexit me Rex, « & introduxit me in cubiculum suum," singula videlicet fingulis reddens. Hoc est, quia formofa, dilexit, quia nigra, introduxit. Formosa, ut dixit, intus virtutibus, quas diligit Sponfus: nigra exterius corporalium tribulationum adverfitatibus. - Quæ quidem nigredo, corporalium scilicet tribulationum, facile fidelium mentes ab amore terrenorum avellit, & ad æternæ vitæ desideria suspendit, & sæpe à tumultuosa sæculi vita trahit ad secretum contemplationis. Sicut in Paulo illo videlicet nostræ, id. est, Monachalis vitæ, primordio actum esse Beatus scribit Hieronymus. - Hæc quoque adjectio indumentorum vilium secretum magis, quam publicum appetit, & maxima vilitatis, ac secretioris loci, qui nostræ præcipue convenit professioni, custodienda est. Maxime namque ad publicum procedere pretiofus provocat cultus, quem à pullo appeti, nisi ad inanem gloriam, & fæculi pompam Beatus Gregorius inde convincit: quad nemo his in occulto fe ornat, fed ubi conspici queat. Hoc autem prædictum Sponfæ cubiculum illud eft, ad quod ipfe Sponsus in Evangelio invitat orantem, dicens : " Tu s autem cum orayeris, intra in cubiculum, & clauso

ostio, ora Patrem tuum." Ac si diceret : non in plateis, vel publicis locis, ficut hypocritæ. Cubiculum itaque dicit secretum à tumultibus. & aspectu faculi locum, ubi quietius & purius orari poffit: qualia funt scilicet Monasticarum solitudinum secreta, ubi claudere oftium jubemur, id est, aditus omnes obstruere, ne puritas orationis casu aliquo præpediatur, & oculus noster infelicem animam deprædetur. - Cujus quidem confilii, imo præcepti divini multos hujus habitus nostri contemptores adliuc graviter fustinemus, qui cum divina celebrant officia, claustris, vel choris corum reseratis, publicis tam fæminarum quam virorum aspectibus impudenter se ingerunt, & tunc præcipue cum in solemnitatibus pretiofis polluerunt ornamentis, ficut & ipfi, quibus oftentant, fæculares homines, Quorum quidem judicio tanto festivitas habetur celebrior, quanto in exteriori ornatu est ditior, & in epulis copiosior. De quorum quidem cæcitate miferrima, & pauperum Christi religioni penitus contraria, tanto est silere honestius, quanto loqui turpius. Qui penitus Judaïzantes confuetudinem fuam sequentur pro regula, & irritum secerunt mandatum Dei per traditiones suas: non quod debeat, sed quod foleat attendentes. Cum, ut Beatus etiam meminit Augustinus, Dominus dixerit: "Ego sum " veritas," non ego fum consuetudo. - Horum orationibus, quæ aperto scilicet fiunt ostio, qui voluerit, fe commendet. Vos autem, quæ in cubiculum cælestis Regis ab ipso introductæ, atque in ejus amplexibus quiescentes, clauso semper ostio, ei totæ vacatis, quanto familiarius ei adhæretis, juxta illud Apostoli, " Qui adhæret Domino, unus

" spiritus est," tanto puriorem, & efficaciorem habere confidimus orationem, & ob hoc vehementius earum efflagitamus opem. Quas etiam tanto devotius pro me faciendas esse credimus, quanto

majore nos invicem caritate colligati fumus.

Quod vero mentione periculi, in quo laboro, vel mortis quam timeo, vos commovi, juxta ipfam quoque tuam factum est exhortationem, imo etiam adjurationem. Sic enim prima, quam ad me direxisti, quodam loco continet Epistola : "Per ips fum itaque qui te sibi adhuc quoquomodo prose tegit Christum obsecramus, quatenus ancillulas " ipsius, & tuas crebris literis de his, in quibus .. adhuc fluctuas, naufragiis certificare digneris: ut " nos faltem quæ tibi folæ remansimus doloris vel ss gaudii particeps habeas. Solent enim dolenți non-" nullam adferre consolationem qui condolent. Et " quodlibet onus pluribus impositum levius susti-" netur, five defertur."

· Quid igitur arguis, quod vos anxietatis meæ participes feci, ad quod me adjurando compulifti? Nunquid in tanta vitæ, qua crucior, desperatione gaudere vos convenit? Nec doloris fociæ, fed gaudii tantum vultis effe : nec flere cum flentibus, fed gaudere cum gaudentibus? Nulla major verorum & falforum differentia est amicorum, quam quod illi adversitati, isti prosperitati se sociant.

Quiesce, obsecro, ab his dictis, & hujusmodi querimonias compesce, quæ à visceribus caritatis absistunt longissime. Aut si adhuc in his offenderis, me tamen in tanto periculi posium articulo, & quotidiana desperatione vitæ, de salute animæ sollicitum esse convenit, & de ipsa, dum licet, providere. Nec

tu, si me vere diligis, hanc exosam providentiam habebis. Quinetiam si quam de divina erga me misericordia spem haberes, tanto amplius ab hujus vitæ ærumnis liberari me cuperes, quanto eas conspicis intolerabiliores. Certum quippe tibi'est, quod quisquis ab hac vita me liberet, à maximis pœnis eruet. Quas postea incurram incertum est, sed à quantis absolvar dubium non est.

Omnis vita misera jucundum exitum habet, & quicunque aliorum anxietatibus vere compatiuntur & condolent, eas finiri desiderant: & cum damnis etiam fuis, si quos anxios vident, vere diligunt, nec tam commoda propria quam illorum in ipsis attendunt. Sic din languentem filium mater etiam morte languorem finire desiderat, quem tolerare ipsa non potest, & ea potius orbari sustinet, quam in miseria consortem habere. Et quicunque amici præsentia plurimum oblectatur, magis tamen beatam esse vult ejus absentiam quam præsentiam miseram. Quia quibus subvenire non valet ærumnis, tolerare non potest.

Tibi vero nec nostra vel etiam misera concessum est frui præsentia. Nec ubi tuis in me commodis aliquid provideas, cur me miserrime vivere malis quam felicius mori, non video. Quod si nostras protendi miserias in commoda tua desideras, hostis potius, quam amica convinceris. Quod si videri refugis, ab his, obsecro, ficut dixi, quiesce querimoniis.

Approbo autem, quod reprobas, laudem; quia in hoc ipso te laudabiliorem ostendis. Scriptum est enim : " Justus in primordio accusator est sui : & " qui se humiliat se exaltat." Atque utinam sic sit in

animo tuo ficut in scripto! Quod fi fuerit, vera est humilitas tua, ne pro nostris evanuerit verbis. Sed vide, obsecro, ne hocipso laudem quæras, quo laudem fugere videris, & reprobes illud ore, quod appetas corde. De quo ad Eustochium virginem sic inter cætera Beatus scribit Hieronymus: " Naturali ducimur malo. Adulatoribus nostris libenter favemus. " & quamquam nos respondeamus indignos, & calidior rubor ora suffundat, attamen ad laudem suam " intrinsecus anima lætatur." Talem & lascivæ calliditatem Galathez Virgilius describit, quæ quod volebat fugiendo appetebat, & fimulatione repulsa amplius in le amantem incitabat : " Et fugit ad falices." inquit, " & le cupit ante videri," Antequam lateat, cupit se fugientem videri, ut ipsa fuga, qua reprobare confortium juvenis videtur, amplius acquirat. Sic & laudes hominum dum fugere videmur. amplius erga nos excitamus, & cum latere nos velle fimulamus, ne quis scilicet in nobis, quid laudet, agnoscat, amplius attendimus in laudem nostram impudentes, quia eo laude videmur digniores.

Et hæc quidem, quia fæpe accidunt, dicimus, non quia de te talia suspicemur, qui de tua non hæsitamus humilitate. Sed ab his etiam verbis te temperare volumus, ne his qui te minus noverint, videaris, ut ait Hieronymus, suspiendo gloriam quærere. Nunquam te mea laus instabit, sed ad meliora provocabit, et tanto studiosius quæ laudavero amplecteris, quanto mihi amplius placere satagis. Non est laus nostra testimonium tibi religionis, ut hinc aliquid extollentiæ sumas. Nec de commendatione cujusquam amicis credendum est, sicut nee

inimicis de vituperatione.

Superest tandem, ut ad antiquam illam, ut diximus . & affiduam querimoniam tuam veniamus . quia videlicet de nostræ conversionis modo Deum potius accusare præsumis, quam glorificare, ut justum est, velis. Hanc jamdudum amaritudinem animi tui tam manifesto divinæ misericordiæ consilio evanuisse credideram. Quæ quanto tibi periculosior est, corpus tuum pariter & animam conterens; tanto miserabilior eft , & mihi molestior. Quæ cum mihi per omnia placere, ficut profiteris, studeas, hoc faltem uno ut me non crucies, imo ut mihi fummopere placeas, hanc depone. Cum qua mihi non potes placere, neque mecum ad beatitudinem pervenire. Sustinebis illuc me fine te pergere, quem etiam ad Vulcania profiteris te fequi velle? Hoc faltem uno religionem appete, ne à me ad Deum, ut credis, properante dividaris, & tanto libentius, quanto quo veniendum nobis est beatius est; ut tanto scilicet societas nostra sit gratior, quanto felicior. Memento quæ dixeris. Recordare quæ scripferis, in hoc videlicet nostræ conversionis modo, quo mihi Deus amplius adversari creditur, propitiorem mihi, ficut manifestum est, extitisse. Hoc uno saltem hæc ejus dispositio tibi placeat, quod mihi fit saluberrima, imo mihi pariter & tibi, fi rationem vis doloris admittat. Nec te tanti boni causam esse doleas, ad quod te à Deo maxime creatam esse non dubites. Nec quia id tulerim plangas, nisi cum Martyrum passionum, ipsiusque Dominica mortis commoda te contristabunt. Nunquid si id mihi juste accidisset, tolerabilius ferres, & minus te offenderet? Profecto fi fic fieret, eo modo contingeret quo mihi effet ignominiofius, &inimicis laudabilius; cum illis

laudem justitia, & mihi contemptum acquireret culpa. Nec jam quisquam quod actum est accusaret,

ut compassione mei moveretur.

Ut tamen & hoc modo hujus amaritudinem doloris leniamus; tam juste quam utiliter id monstrabimus nobis accidisse, & rectius in conjugatos quam in fornicantes ultum Deum fuisse. Nosti post nostri confæderationem conjugii, cum Argenteoli cum Sanctimonialibus in claustro conversabaris, me die quadam privatim ad te visitandam venisse. & quid ibi tecum mez libidinis egerit intemperantia in quadam etiam parte ipsius refectorii, cum quo alias diverteremus, non haberemns. Nofti, inquam, id impudentissime tunc actum esse in tam reverendo loco & fumma Virgini consecrato. Quod, eth alia cessent flagitia, multo graviore dignum sit ultione. Quid pristinas fornicationes & impudentissimas referam pollutiones que conjugium precesserunt? Quid summam denique proditionem meam, qua de te ipfa tuum, cum quo assidue in ejus domo convivebam, avunculum tam turpiter seduxi? Quis me ab eo juste prodi non censeat, quem tam impudenter ante ipse prodideram? Putas ad tantorum criminum ultionem momentaneum illius plagæ dolotem sufficere? Imo tantis malis tantum debitum effe commodum? Quam plagam divinæ sufficere justitiz credis ad tantam contaminationem , ut diximus. sacerrimi loci sum matris? Certe nisi vehementer erro, non tam illa saluberrima plaga in ultionem horum conversa est; quam que hodie indesinenter fustineo.

Nôsti etiam quando te gravidam in meam transmis patriam, sacro te habitu indutam, Monialem te finxisse, & tali simulatione tuz, quam nunc habes, religioni, irreverenter illussse. Unde etiam pensa, quam convenienter ad hanc te religionem divina justitia, imo gratia traxerit nolentem, cui verita non es illudere, volens, ut in ipso luas habitu, quod in ipsum deliquisti, & simulationis mendacio ipsa rei veritas remedium præstet, & salsitatem emendet.

Quod si divinæ in nobis justitiæ nostram velis utilitatem adjungere, non tam justitiam, quam gratiam Dei quod tunc egit in nobis poteris appellare. Attende, itaque, attende, chariffima, quibus misericordiæ suæ retibus à profundo hujus tam periculosi maris nos Dominus piscaverit, & à quantæ Charybdis voragine naufragos, licet invitos, extraxerit, ut merito uterque nostrum in illam prorumpere posse videatur vocem : " Dominus sollicitus est " mei." Cogita & recogita, in quantis ipsi nos periculis constituti eramus, & à quantis nos eruerit Dominus: & narra femper cum fumma gratiarum actione, quanta fecit Dominus animæ nostræ : et quoslibet iniquos de bonitate Domini desperantes nostro consolare exemplo, ut advertant omnes quid supplicantibus atque petentibus fiat, cum tam peccatoribus & invitis tanta præftentur beneficia. Perpende altissimum in nobis diving confilium pietatis, & quam misericorditer judicium suum Dominus in correptionem verterit, & quam prudenter malis quoque ipsis usus sit, & impieratem pie deposuerit, ut unius partis corporis mei justissima plaga duabus mederetur animabus. Confer periculum & liberationis modum. Confer languorem & medicinam. Meritorm causas inspice, & miserationis affectus admirare. - Nosti quantis turpitudinibus immoderata

mea libido corpora nostra addixerat, ut nulla honestatis vel Dei reverentia in ipsis etiam diebus Dominicæ Passionis, vel quantarum cumque solennitatum ab hujus luti volutabro me revocaret. Sed & te nolentem, & prout poteras reluctantem & diffuadentem, que natura infirmior eras, fæpius minis ac flagellis ad confensum trahebam. Tanto enim tibi concupiscentiæ ardore copulatus eram, ut miferas illas & obscoenissimas voluptates, quas etiam nominare confundimur, tam Deo, quam mihi ipsi præponerem : nec tam aliter consulere posse divina videretur clementia, nisi has mihi voluptates sine fpe ulla omnino interdiceret. - Unde justissime & clementissime, licet cum summa tui avunculi proditione, ut in multis crescerem, parte illa corporis fum minutus, in qua libidinis regnum erat, & tota hujus concupiscentiæ causa consistebat : ut juste illud plecteretur membrum, quod in nobis commiferat totum, & expiaret patiendo, quod deliquerat oblectando: & ab his me spurcitiis, quibus me totum quasi luto immerseram, tam mente quam corpore circumcideret : & tanto facris etiam altaribus idoniorem efficeret, quanto me nulla hinc amplius tarnalium contagia pollutionum revocarent. Quam clementer etiam in eo tantum me pati voluit membro, cujus privatio & animæ saluti consuleret, & corpus non deterparet, nec ullam officiorum ministrationem præpediret. Imo ad omnia, quæ honeste geruntur, tanto me promptiorem efficeret. quanto ab hoc concupiscentiæ jugo maximo amplius liberaret. Cum itaque membris his vilissimis, quæ pro summæ turpitudinis exercitio pudenda vocantur, nec proprium suffinent nomen, me divina

gratia mundavit, potius quam privavit, quid aliud egit quam ad puritatem mundiciæ conservandam fordida removit & vitia ? - Hanc quidem mundiciæ puritatem nonnullos sapientium vehementissime appetentes inferre etiam sibi manum audivimus, ut hoc à se penitus removerent concupiscentiæ flagitium. Pro quo etiam stimulo carnis auferendo & Apostolus perhibetur Dominum rogasse, nec exauditum esse. In exemplo est ille magnus Christianorum Philosophus Origenes, qui, ut hoc in fe penitus incendium. extingueret, manus sibi inferre veritus non est: ac si illos ad litteram vere beatos intelligeret, qui seipsos propter regnum colorum castraverunt, & tales illud veraciter implere crederet, quod de membris scandalizantibus nobis præcipit Dominus, ut ea scilicet à nobis abscindamus & projiciamus, & quali illam Ifaix Prophetiam ad historiam magis quam ad mysterium duceret, per quam cæteris fidelibus Eunuchos Dominus præfert, dicens; " Eunuchi " si custodierint sabbatha mea, & elegerint quæ volui, " dabo eis in domo mea & in muris meis locum, & nomen melius à filis & filiabus. Nomen sempisternum dabo eis, quod non peribit." Culpam tamen non modicam Origenes incurrit, dum per pænam corporis remedium culpæ quærit. - Zelum quippe Dei habens, sed non secundum scientiam. homicidii, incurrit reatum inferendo sibi manum. Suggestione diabolica, vel errore maximo id ab ipso constat esse factum, quod miseratione Dei, in me est ab alio perpetratum. Culpam evito, non incurro. Mortem mercor, & vitam affequor. Vocot, & reluctor. Infto criminibus, & ad veniam trahor invitus. Orat Apostolus, nec exauditur. Precibus

t

IS

n

1-

i-

0-

us

12

n-

na

Vol. II.

instat, nec impetrat. Vere Dominus sollicitus est mei. Vadam igitur & narrabo quanta secit Dominus animæ meæ.

Accede & tu inseparabilis comes in una gratiarum actione, quæ & culpæ particeps sacta es & gratiæ. Nam & tuæ Dominus non immemor salutis, imo plurimum tui memor, qui etiam sancto quodam nominis præsagio te præcipue suam fore præsignavit, cum te videlicet Heloissam ex proprio nomine suo, quod

est Heloym, infignivit.

Ipfe, inquam, clementer disposuit in uno duobus consulere, quos diabolus in uno nitebatur extinguere. Paululum enim antequam hoc accideret, nos indisfolubilis lex sacramenti nuptialis invicem adstrinxerat, cum cuperem te mihi supra modum dilectam in perpetuum retinere, imo cum ipse jam tractaret ad fe nos ambos hac occasione convertere. - Si enimmihi antea matrimonio non esses copulata, facile in discessu meo à sæculo, vel suggestione parentum, vel carnalium oblectatione voluptatum, fæculo inhæsisses. Vide ergo quantum sollicitus nostri fuerit Dominus, quasi ad magnos aliquos nos refervaret usus, & quasi indignaretur aut doleret, illa literalis scientiæ talenta, quæ utrique nostrum commiserat, ad fui nominis honorem non dispensari: aut quasi etiam de incontinentissimo servulo vereretur, quod scriptum est, "Quia mulieres faciunt etiam apostase tare sapientes." Sicut de sapientissimo certum est Salomone.

Tuæ vero prudentiæ talentum quantas quotidie Domino referat usuras, quæ multas domino jam spirituales filias peperisti, me penitus sterili permanente, & in filiis perditionis inaniter laborante. O quam detestabile damnum! quam lamentabile incommodum, si carnalium voluptatum fordibus vacans paucos cum dolore pareres mundo, quæ nunc multiplicem prolem cum exultatione parturis cælo! Nec esses plus quam sæmina, quæ nunc etiam viros transcendis, & quæ maledictionem Evæ in benedictionem vertisti Mariæ. O quam indecenter manus illæ sacræ, quæ nunc etiam divina revolvunt volumina. curæ muliebris obscænitatibus deservirent! — Ipse nos à contagiis hujus cæni, à voluptatibus hujus luti dignatus est erigere & ad seipsum vi quadam attrahere, qua percussum voluit Paulum convertere, & hoc ipso fortassis exemplo nostro, alios quoque literarum peritos ab hac deterrere præsumptione.

Ne te id igitur, soror, obsecto moveat, nec patri paterne nos corrigenti sis molesta; sed attende quod scriptum est: "Quos diligit Deus, hos corripit." Et alibi, "Qui parcit virgæ, odit silium." Pæna est hæc momentanea, non æterna; purgationis, non damnationis. Audi Prophetam, & confortare: "Non judicabit Dominus bis in id ipsum, & non consurget duplex tribulatio." Attende summam illam & maximam Veritatis adhortationem: "In patientia vestra possidebitis animas vestras." Unde & Salomon: "Melior est patiens viro sorti, & qui dominatur animo suo, expugnatore urbium."

Non te ad lachrymas, aut ad compunctionem movet unigenitus Dei innocens pro te & omnibus, ab impiissimis comprehensus, distractus, slagellatus, & velata facie illusus, & colaphizatus, sputis conspersus, spinis coronatus, & tandem in illo crucis tunc tam ignominioso patibulo inter latrones suspen-

fus, atque illo tunc horrendo, & execrabili genere mortis interfectus? Hunc semper, soror, verum tuum & totius Ecclesiæ Sponsum præ oculis habe, mente gere. Intuere hunc exeuntem 'ad crucifigendum pro te & bajulantem sibi crucem. Esto de populo & mulieribus, quæ plangebant & lamentabantur eum, ficut Lucas his verbis narrat : " Sequebatur se autem multaturba populi & mulierum, quæ plange-66 bant & lamentabantur eum." Ad quas quidem benigne conversus, clementer eis prædixit futurum in ultionem suæ mortis exitium, à quo quidem si faperent, cavere fibi per hoc possent. " Filiæ, inquit, " Hierusalem, nolite flere super me, sed super vos " ipfas flete, & fuper filios vestros. Quoniam ecce venient dies in quibus dicent : Beatæ steriles, & ventres qui non genuerunt, & ubera quæ non Tunc incipient dicere montibus, " lactaverunt. « Cadite super nos; & collibus, Operite nos. Quia " fi in viridi ligno hæc faciunt, in arido quid fiet?" - Patienti sponte pro redemptione tua compatere, & fuper crucifixo pro te compungere. - Sepulchro ejus mente semper assitte, & cum sidelibus sæminis lamentare & luge. De quibus, etiam ut jam fupra memini scriptum est, "Mulieres sedentes ad monuse mentum lamentabantur flentes Dominum." Para cum illis sepulturæ ejus unguenta, sed meliora, spiritualia quidem, non corporalia : hæc enim requirit aromata, qui non suscepit illa. Super his toto devotionis affectu compungere. - Ad quam quidem compassionis compunctionem ipse etiam per Hieremiam sideles adhortatur dicens : " O vos omnes qui a transitis per viam, attendite & videte, fi est dolor " fimilis ficur dolor meus." Id eft, fi fuper aliquo

patiente ita est per compassionem dolendum, cum ego scilicet solus sine culpa, quod alii deliquerint, luam. Ipse autem est via, per quam sideles de exilio transeant ad patriam. — Qui etiam crucem, de qua sic clamat, ad hoc, nobis erexit scalam. Hic pro te occisus est unigenitus Dei, oblatus est, quia voluit. Super hoc uno compatiendo dole, dolendo compatere. Et quod per Zachariam Prophetam de animabus devotis prædictum est comple: "Plangent, inquit, planctum, quasi super unigenitum, & dolebunt fuper eum, ut doleri solet in morte primogeniti."

Vide, Soror, quantus fit plandus his qui Regem diligunt super morte primogeniti ejus & unigeniti. Intuere quo planctu familia, quo mœrore tota confummatur Curia, &, cum ad Sponfam unigeniti mortui perveneris, intolerabiles ululatus ejus non suffinebis. - Hic tuus, Soror, planctus, hic tuus fit ululatus, quæ te huic Sponso selici copulasti matrimonio. Emit te iste non suis, sed seipso. Proprio sanguine emit te, & redemit. Quantum jus in te habeat vide, & quam preciosa sis intuere. - Hoc quidem pretium suum Apostolus attendens, & in hoc pretio quanti fit ipfe, pro quo ipfum datur, perpendens, & quam tantæ gratiæ vicem referat adnectens : "Absit mihi, " inquit, gloriari nifi in cruce Domini nostri Jefu " Christi, per quem mihi mundus crucifixus est . & " ego mundo." Major es celo, major es mundo; cujus pretium ipse conditor mundi factus eft. Quid in te, rogo, viderit, qui nullius eget, ut pro te acquirenda usque ad agonias tam horrendæ atque ignominiosæ mortis certaverit? Quid in te, inquam, quærit nisi teipsam? Verus est amicus, qui te ipsam. non tua desiderat. Verus est amicus, qui pro te

moriturus dicebat. " Majorem hac dilectionem nemo " habet, ut animam fuam ponat quis proamicis fuis." Amabat te ille veraciter, non ego. Amor meus, qui utrumque nostrum peccatis involvebat, concupiscentia, non amor dicendus est. Miseras in te meas voluptates implebam, & hoc erat totum quod amabam. Pro te, inquis, passus sum, & fortassis verum est: sed magis per te, & hoc ipsum invitus. Non amore tui, sed coactione mei. Nec ad tuam salutem fed ad dolorem. Ille vero falubriter, ille pro te fponte passus est, qui passione sua omnem curat languorem, omnem removet passionem. In hoc, obsecro, non in me tua tota sit devotio, tota compassio, tota compunctio. Dole in tam innocentem tantæ crudelitatis perpetratam iniquitatem : non justam in me æquitatis vindicam, imo gratiam, ut dictum eft, in utrosque summam.

Iniqua enim es, si æquitatem non amas; et iniquissima, si voluntati, imo tantæ gratiæ Dei scienter es adversa. Plange tuum reparatorem, non corruptorem; redemptorem, non scortatorem: pro te mortuum Dominum, non viventem servum, imo nunc primum de morte vere liberatum. — Cave obsecto ne, quod dixit Pompeius mœrenti Corneliæ, tibi improperetur turpissime. — Attende, precor, id, & erubesce, nisi admissas turpitudines impudentissimas commendes.

Accipe itaque, Soror, accipe quæso patienter, quæ nobis acciderunt misericorditer. Virga hæc est patris, non gladius persecutoris. Percutit pater, ut corrigat, ne seriat hostis, ut occidat. Vulnere mortem prævenit, non ingerit: immittit serrum, ut amputet morbum. Corpus vulnerat, & animam sanat.

Occidere debuerat, & vivificat. Immunditiam refecat, ut mundum relinquat. Punit semel, ne puniat semper. Patitur Unus ex vulnere, ut duobus parcatur à morte. Duo in culpa, unus in pœna. - Id quoque tuæ infirmitați naturæ divina indulgetur miseratione, & quodam modo juste. Quo enim naturaliter fexu infirmior eras, & fortior continentia, pænæ minus eras obnoxia. Refero Domino in hoc gratias, qui te tunc, & à pœna liberavit, & ad coropam reservavit; & cum me una corporis mei passione semel ab omni æstu hujus concupiscentiæ, in qua una totus per immoderatam incontinentiam occupatus eram, refrigeravit, ne corruam; multas adolefcentiæ tuæ majores animi passiones ex assidua carnis fuggestione, refervavit ad martyrii coronam. Quod licet te audire tædeat, & dici prohibeas: veritas tamen id loquitur manifesta. Cui enim semper est . pugna, superest & corona, quia non coronabitur nife qui legitime certaverit.

-

.5

n

n

n

te

at

. 4

n-

m

n

ut

i-

er

p-

r-

nc

ro

bi

8

ias

er,

eft

ut

or-

pu-

Mihi vero nulla superest corona, quia nulla subest certaminis causa. Deest materia pugnæ, cui ablatus est stimulus concupiscentiæ. Aliquid tamen esse æstimo, si cum hinc nullam percipiam coronam, nonullam tamen evitem pænam, & dolore unius momentaneæ pænæ multis fortassis indulgeatur æternis. Scriptum est quippe de hujus miserrimæ vitæ hominibus, imo jumentis: "Computrue-" runt jumenta in stercoribus suis." — Minus quoque meritum meum minui conqueror, dum tuum crescere non dissido. Unum quippe sumus in Christo, una per legem matrimonii caro. Quicquid est tuum, mihi non arbitror alienum. Tuus autem est Christus, quia sada es sponsa ejus. Et nunc,

ut supra memini, me habes servum, quem olim agnoscebas Dominum: magis tibi tamen amore nunc spirituali conjunctum, quam timore subjectum. Unde & de tuo nobis apud ipsum patrocinio amplius confidimus: ut id obtineam ex tua quod non possum ex oratione propria. Et nunc maxime cum quotidiana periculorum, aut perturbationum instantia, nec vivere me, nec orationi finat vacare, nec illum beatissimum imitari potentem Candacis Reginæ Æthiopum, qui erat super omnes gazas ejus, & de tam longinquo venerat adorare in Hierusalem. Ad quem revertentem missus est ab angelo Philippus Apostolus, ut eum converteret ad fidem : quod jam ille meruerat per orationem; vel facræ lectionis affiduitatem. A qua quidem ut nec in via tunc vacaret, licet ditiffimus & gentilis, magno divinæ dispensationis actum est beneficio, ut locus ei Scripturæ occurreret, qui opportunissimam conversionis ejus occasionem Apostolo præberet.

Ne quid vero hanc petitionem nostram impediat, vel impleri differat, orationem quoque ipsam, quam pro nobis domino supplices dicatis, componere,

& dimittere tibi maturavi.

### ORATIO.

Deus, qui ab ipfo humanæ creationis exordio, " fæmina de costa viri formata, nuptialis copulæ " facramentum maximum fanxisti, quique immen-" sis honoribus, vel de desponsata nascendo, vel " miracula inchoando, nuptias sublimasti, meaque " etiam fragilitatis incontinentiæ, utcumque tibi pla-" cuit, olim hoc remedium indulfisti : Ne despici cias ancillulæ tuæ preces, quas pro meis ipsis -

n

n

1-

æ

1.

d

IC

æ

0-

15

t,

m

æ

n-

el

ue

a-

oi-

fis

" charique mei excessibus in conspedu majestatis " tuæ supplex effundo. Ignosce, ô Benignissime, " imo Benignitas ipfa; ignosce & tantis criminibus " nostris: & ineffabilis misericordiæ tuæ multitudi-" dinem culparum nostrarum immensitas experiatur. "Puni obsecto in præsenti reos, ut parcas in su-" turo. Puni ad horam, ne punias in æternum. " Accipe in servos virgam correctionis, non gladium " furoris. Afflige carnem, ut conferves animas. " Adfis purgator, non ultor; benignus magis quam " justus: Pater misericors, non austerus Dominus. " - Proba nos Domine & tenta, ficut de semet-" ipfo rogat Propheta. Ac si aperte diceret: Prius " vires inspice, ac secundum eas, tentationum onera moderare. Quod & Beatus Paulus fideli-" Bus tuis promittens ait: Potens est enim Deus, " qui non patietur vos tentari fupra id quod pose testis, sed faciet cum tentatione etiam proven-" tum ut possitis sustinere. - Conjunxisti nos, Do-" mine, & divisifii quando placuit tibi, & quo modo " placuit. Nunc quod, Domine, misericorditer " cœpisti, misericordissime comple. Et quos à se se-" mel divisisti in mundo, perenniter tibi conjugas " in cœlo, Spes nostra, pars nostra, expectatio " nostra, consolatio nostra, Domine qui es bene-" dictus in fæcula. Amen."

Vale in Christo, Sponsa Christi, in Christo vale, & Christo vive. Amen.

the state of the state of the state of

more valory assectives.

allous Physics some superi county

section of an alian early and all all a

. Turkmilla enimonis

#### EPISTOLA III.

#### HELOISS E.

Domino specialiter, sua singulariter.

E me forte in aliquo de inobedientia causari queas, verbis etiam immoderati doloris tuæ frenum impositum est jussionis, ut ab his mihi saltem in scribendo temperem, à quibus in sermone non tam difficile, quam impossible est providere. - Nihil enim minus in nostra est potestate quam animus, eique magis obedire cogimur, quam imperare poffimus. Unde & cum nos ejus affectiones stimulant, nemo earum subitos impulsus ita repulerit, ut non in effecta facile prorumpant, & se per verba facilius effluant, quæ promptiores animi passionum sunt notæ. Secundum quod scriptum eft, "Ex abun-" dantia cordis os loquitur." Revocabo itaque manum à scripto, in quibus linguam à verbis temperare non valeo. Utinam fic animus dolentis parere promptus sit, quemadmodum dextra scribentis,

Aliquod tamen dolori remedium vales conferre, fi non hunc omnino possis auserre. Ut enim insertum clavum alius expellit, sic cogitatio nova priorem excludit. Cum alias intentus animus priorum memoriam dimittere cogitur aut intermittere. Tanto vero amplius cogitatio quælibet animum occupat, & ab aliis deducit; quanto quod cogitatur honestius æstimatur, & quo intendimus animum

magis videtur necessarium.

Omnes itaque nos Christi ancillæ, & in Christo filiæ tuæ, duo nunc à tua paternitate supplices po-

stulamus, quæ nobis admodum necessaria providemus. Quorum quidem alterum eft, ut nos inftruere velis, unde Sanctimonialium Ordo coperit, & quæ nostræ sit professionis authoritas. Alterum vero est, ut aliquam nobis Regulam instituas, & scriptam dirigas, quæ fæminarum fit propria, & ex integro nostræ conversationis statum habitumque describat: quod nondum à Patribus sanctis actum esse conspeximus. Cujus quidem rei defedu & indigentia nunc agitur, ut ad ejusdem Regulæ professionem, tam mares quam fæminæ in Monasteriis suscipiantur, & idem institutionis Monastica jugum imponitur infirmo fexui, aque ut forti. Unam quippe nunc Regulam Beati Benedicti apud Latinos fæminæ profitentur, æque ut viri. Quam sicut viris solummodo constat scriptam esse, ita & ab ipsis tantum impleri posse tam subjectis, pariter quam prælatis. Ut enim cætera nune omittam Regulæ capitula, quid ad fæminas, quod de cucullis, semoralibus, & scapularibus ibi scriptum est? Quid denique ad ipsas de tunicis aut de laneis ad carnem indumentis; cum earum humoris fuperflui menstruæ purgationes hæc omnino refugiant? Quid ad ipsas etiam, quod de Abbate statuitur, ut ipse lectionem dicat Evangelicam, & post ipfam Hymnum incipiat? Quid de mensa Abbatis seorfim cum peregrinis & hospitibus constituenda: Nunquid nostræ convenit religioni, ut vel nunquam hospitium viris præbeat, aut cum his, quos susce, perit viris, Abbatissa comedat? O quam facilis ad ruinam animarum virorum ac mulierum in unum cohabitatio! Maxime vero in mensa, ubi crapula dominatur & ebrietas, & vinum in dulcedine bibitur: in quo est luxuria. MANUAL AND A COLUMN TO

ri

m

m

il

.

ſ-

t,

n

15

nt

n-

a-

e-

rç

e,

r-

0:

m

n-

u-

ur

m

to

0-

Quod & Beatus præcavens Hieronymus, ad matrem & filiam scribens, meminit dicens : " Difficile inter " epulas servatur pudicitia." Ipse quoque Poëta, luxuriæ turpitudinisque doctor, Libro Amatoriæ artis intitulato, quantam fornicationis occasionem convivia maxime præbeant, studiose exequitur dicens:

> Vinaque cum bibulas sparsere Cupidinis alas, Permanet, & capto flat gravis ille loco, Tum veniunt risus : tum pauper cornua sumita Tum dolor & curz : rugaque frontis abit. Illic fæpe animos juvenum rapuere puellæ: Et Venus in venis, ignis in igne furit.

Nunquid & si fæminas solas hospitio susceptas ad mensam admiserint, nullum ibi latet periculum? Certe in feducenda muliere nullum est æque facile ut lenocinium muliebre. Nec corruptæ mentis turpitudinem ita prompte cuiquam mulier committit ficut mulieri. Unde & prædicus Hieronymus maxime secularium accessus fæminarum vitare propositi sancti fæminas adhortatur. - Denique si viris ab hospitalitate nostra exclusis, solas admittamus fæminas, quis non videat quanta exasperatione viros offendamus, quorum beneficiis Monasteria sexus infirmi egent, maxime si eis, à quibus plus accipiunt, minus, aut omnino nihil largiri videantur?

Quod si prædica Regulæ tenor à nobis impleri non potest, vereor ne illud Apostoli Jacobi in nostram quoque damnationem dictum fit : " Quicunque totam legem observaverit, offendat autem in uno, " fadus est omnium reus." Quod est dicere: De hoc ipso reus statuitur qui peragit multa: quod non impletomnia. Et transgressor legis efficitur ex uno, cujus

impletor non fuerit, nisi consummatis omnibus ejus præceptis. Quod ipse statim diligenter exponens Apostolus adjecit: "Qui enim dixit: Non mæcha"beris, dixit &, Non occides. Quod si non mæchaberis, occidas autem, factus & transgressor legis." Ac si aperte dicat: Ideo quilibet reus sit de transgressore uniuscujuslibet præcepti, quia ipse Dominus, qui præcipit unum, præcipit & aliud. Et quodcunque legis violetur præceptum, ipse contemnitur, qui legem non in uno, sed in omnibus pariter mandatis constituit.

Ut autem præteream illa regulæ instituta, quæ penitus observare non possumus, aut sine periculo non valemus: Ubi unquam ad colligendas messes Conventus Monialium exire, vel labores agrorum habere consuevit? Aut suscipiendarum sæminarum constantiam uno anno probaverit, easque tertio perlecta regula, ficut in ipfa jubetur, inftruxerit? Quid rurfum stultius, quam viam ignotam, nec adhuc demonstratam aggredi? Quid præsumptuosius quam eligere ac profiteri vitam, quam nescias, aut votum facere, quod implere non queas? Sed & cum omnium virtutum discretio sit mater, & omnium bonorum mediatrix fit ratio; quis aut virtutem aut bonum cenfeat, quod ab iftis diffentire videatur! Ipfas quippe virtutes excedentes modum atque mensuram, ficut Hieronymus afferit, inter vitia reputari convenit. Quis autem ab omni ratione ac discretione sejunctum non videat, fi ad imponenda onera eorum quibus imponuntur, valitudines prius non discutiantur, ut naturæ constitutionem humana sequatur industria? Quis asinum sarcina tanta, qua dignum judicat elephantem? Quis tanta pueris aut senibus, quanta viris injungat? Tanta debilibus scilicet quanta fortibus,

t

ė

tanta infirmis, quanta fanis, tanta fæminis, quanta maribus? Infirmiori videlicet sexui, quanta & forti? Quod diligenter Beatus Papa Gregorius attendens, Pastoralis sui cap. xiv. tam de admonendis, quam de præcipiendis ita distinxit : « Aliter igitur admose nendi funt viri, atque aliter fæminæ: quia illis ce gravia, istis vero funt injungenda leviora: & alios u magna exerceant, istas vero levia demulcendo ss convertant."

Certe & qui Monachorum Regulas scripserunt, nec solum de fæminis omnino tacuerunt, verum etiam illa flatuerunt, quæ eis nullatenus convenire sciebant: fatis commode innuerunt, nequaquam eodem jugo Regulæ tauri & juvencæ premendam esse cervicem, quia quos dispares natura creavit, æquari labore non convenit. Hujus autem discretionis Beatus non immemor Benedictus, tanquam omnium justorum spiritu plenus, pro qualitate hominum aut temporum, runcta sic moderatur in Regula, ut omnia, sicut ipsemet uno concludit loco, mensurate fiant. Primo itaque ab ipso incipiens Abbate præcipit, eum ita subjectis præsidere, ut secundum unius, inquit, cujusque qualitatem vel intelligentiam ita se omnibus conformet & aptet, ut non folum detrimenta gregis sibi commissi non patiatur, verum in augmentatione boni gregis gaudeat, suamque fragilitatem semper fuspedus lit, memineritque calamum qualsatum non conterendum. Discernat & tempora, cogitans discretionem fancti Jacob dicentis : "Si grese ges meos plus in ambulando fecero laborare, moer rientur cuncti una die." Hac ergo aliaque testimonia discretionis matris virtutum sumens, sic omnino temperet, ut & fortes fit quod cupiant, & infirmi non refugiant.

Ad hanc quidem dispensationis moderationem indulgentia pertinet puerorum, senum, & omnino debilium, Lectoris, seu Septimanariorum, coquinze ante alios resectio, & in ipso etiam Conventu de ipsa cibi vel potus qualitate, seu quantitate, pro diversitate hominum providentia. De quibus quidem singulis ibi diligenter scriptum est. — Ipsa quoque statuta jejunii tempora pro qualitate temporis, vel quantitate laboris ita relaxat, prout naturze postulat infirmitas.

ita

ti?

15,

am

10-

llis

ios

do

nec

am

nt:

ugo

em,

non

im-

fpi-

ım,

ip-

imo

ita

uit,

mni-

enta

nen-

atem

quaf-

, co-

gre-

mo-

testi-

iant,

fic

Quid obsecro? ubi iste, qui sic ad hominum & temporum qualitatem omnia moderatur, ut ab omnibus fine murmuratione proferri queant, que instituuntur: Quid, inquam, de fæminis provideret, si eis quoque pariter ut viris Regulam institueret? Si enim in quibusdam Regulæ rigorem pueris, senibus, & debilibus pro ipfa naturæ debilitate vel infirmitate temperare cogitur : quid de fragili fexu provideret, cujus maxime debilis & infirma natura cognoscitur? Perpende itaque, quam longe absistat ab omni rationis discretione, ejusdem Regulæ profesfione tam fæminas, quam viros obligari, eademque farcina tam debiles, quam fortes onerari. - Satis esse nostræ arbitror insirmitati, si nos ipsis Ecclesiæ Rectoribus, & qui in facris Ordinibus constituti funt, Clericis, tam continentiæ, quam abstinentiæ virtus æquaverit. Maxime cum Veritas dicat: "Per-" fectus omnis erit, si sit sicut magister ejus." Quibus etiam pro magno reputandum esset, si religiosos laïcos æquiparare possemus. Quæ namq; in fortibus parva censemus, in debilibus admiramur. Et juxta illud Apostoli: "Virtus in infirmitate perficitur." Ne vero Laicorum religio pro parvo ducatur, qualis fuit

Abrahæ, David, Job, licet conjugatorum, Chryfoftomus in Epistola ad Hebræos, sermone 7. nobis occurrit, dicens: " Sunt multa in quibus poterit " laborare, ut bestiam illam incantet. Quæ funt " ista? labores, lectiones, vigiliæ. Sed quid ad " nos hæc, inquit, qui non fumus Monachi? Hæc mihi dicis? Dic Paulo, cum dicit: Vigilantes " in omni patientia & oratione : cum dicit, Carnis " curam ne feceritis in concupiscentiis." - Non enim hæc Monachis scribebat tantum, sed omnibus qui erant in civitatibus. Non enim sæcularis homo debet aliquid amplius habere Monacho, quam cum uxore concumbere tantum Hic enim habet veniam, in aliis autem nequaquam : sed omnia æqualiter sicut Monachi agere debet. Nam & beatitudines, quæ à Christo dicuntur, non Monachis tantum diche funt. Alioquin universus mundus peribit, & in angustum inclusit ea, quæ virtutis sunt. Et quomodo honorabiles funt nuptix, que nobis tantum impediunt?

Ex quibus quidem verbis aperte colligitur, quod quisquis Evangelicis præceptis continentiæ virtutem addiderit, Monasticamperfectionem implebit. Atque utinam ad hoc nostra Religio conscendere posset, ut Evangelium impleret, non transcenderet: ne plusquam Christianæ appeteremus esfe. - Hinc profecto, ni fallor, fancti decreverunt Patres, non ita nobis, ficut viris, generalem aliquam Regulam, quasi novam legem præfigere, nec magnitudine votorum nostram infirmitatem onerare, attendentes illud Apostoli : .. Lex enim iram operatur. Ubi enim non est lex, " nec prævaricatio." Et iterum : " Lex autem si subintravit; ut abundaret delicum."

division to the state of the st

Idem

Idem quoque maximus continentiæ prædicator de infirmitate nostra plurimum confidens, & quasi ad fecundas nuptias urgens juniores viduas: « Volo . " inquit, suhiores nubere, filios procreare, matres " familias esse, nullam occasionem dare adversario." Ouod & Beatus Hieronymus faluberrimum effe considerans, Eustochio de improvisis fæminarum votis consulit, his verbis. "Si autem & illæ, quæ viret gines funt, ob alias tamen culpas non folyantur : " quid fiet illis, quæ prostituerunt membra Christi. " & mutaverunt templum Spiritus fancti in lupanar? " Rectius fuerat homini fubiisse conjugium; ambu-" laffe per plana; quam altiora intendentem in pro-" fundum inferni cadere." - Quarum etiam temerariæ professioni fanctus Augustinus consulens; in libro de Continentia Viduali ad Julianum scribit his verbis! " Quæ non cæpit deliberet, quæ aggref-" fa est perseveret. Nulla adversario detur occasio. " nulla Chrifto subtrahatur oblatio." Hinc etiam Canones nostræ infirmitati consulentes decreverunt, Diaconissam ante quadraginta annos ordinari non debere, & hoc cum diligenti probatione; cum à viginti annis, liceat Diaconos promoveri.

Sunt in Monasteriis, qui Regulares dicuntur Canonici Beati Augustini; quandam, ut aiunt, regulam profitentes: qui se inseriores Monachis nullatenus arbitrantur: licet eos & vesci carnibus & lineis uti videamus. Quorum quidem virtutem si
nostra exæquare infirmitas posset, nunquid pro minimo habendum esset? — Ut autem de omnibus
cibis tutius ac lenius indulgeatur, ipse quoque natura providit; quæ majore scilicet sobrietatis virtute
sexum nostrum præmunivit. Constat quippe multo

VOL. II.

S

it

ıt

d

cc

25

is

n

us

10

m

n,

ut

à

ıt.

ım

ra-

od

m

ue

et.

uf-

to,

15 ,

am

am

oli:

ex,

em

n

Aa

parciore fumptu, & alimonio minore, fæminas quam viros sustentari posse, nec eas tam leviter inebriari Phyfica proteflatur. - Unde & Macrobius Theodosius Saturnaliorum Libro VII, meminit his verbis: " Aristoteles, mulieres, inquit, raro inebriantur, « crebro senes. Mulier humectissimo est corpore. " Docet hoc & levitas cutis & splendor. Docent 44 præcipue affiduæ purgationes supersuo exoneran-45 tes corpus humore. Cum ergo epotum vinum 44 in tam largum ceciderit humorem, vim fuam perdit nec facile cerebri fedem ferit, fortitudine es ejus extincta." Item: 44 Muliebre corpus crebris es purgationibus, deputatum, pluribus concertum 6 foraminibus, ut pateat in meatus, & vias præbeat humori in egestionis exitum confluenti. Per hæc se foramina vapor vini celeriter evanescit Contra se senibus ficcum est corpus, quod probat asperitas 44 & fqualor cutis."

Ex his itaque perpende, quantò tutiùs ac justiùs naturæ & infirmitati nostræ cibus quissibet & potus indulgeri possit, quarum videlicet corda crapula & ebrietate gravari facilè non possunt: cùm ab illa nos cibi parcitas, ab ista sæminei corporis qualitas, ut dictum est, protegat. Satis nostræ esse infirmitati, & maximum imputari debet, si continenter ac sine proprietate viventes, & officiis occupatæ divinis, ipsos Ecclesiæ duces vel religiosos laïcos in victu adæquemus, vel eos denique qui Regulares Canonici dicuntur, & se præcipue vitam Apostolicam sequi prositentur. — Magnæ postremò providentiæ est, his qui Deo se per votum obligant, ut minus voveant, & plus exequantur, ut aliquid semper debitis gratia superaddat. Hinc enim per

semetipsam Veritas ait: "Cum feceritis omnia quæ "præcepta sunt, dicite: Servi inutiles sumus, quæ "debuimus facere, secimus." Ac si aperte diceret: Ideo inutiles, & quasi pro nihilo, ac sine meritis reputandi, quia debitis tantum exolvendis contenti, nihil ex gratia superaddidimus. — De quibus quidem gratiis superaddendis ipse quoque Dominus alibi parabolice loquens ait: "Sed, & si quid sur pererogaveris, ego, cum rediero, reddam tibi."

Quod quidem hoc tempore multi Monasticæ Religionis temerarii professores, si diligentius attenderent, & in quam professionem jurarent, animadverterent, atque iplum Regulæ tenorem studiosé perferutarentur! Minus per ignorantiam offenderent, & per negligentiam peccarent. Nunc vero indifcrete omnes fere pariter ad Monasticam conversationem currentes, inordinate suscepti inordinatius vivunt, & eadem facilitate, qua ignotam Regulam profitentur, eam contemnentes, consuetudines quas volunt, pro lege flatuunt. Providendum itaque nobis est . ne id oneris fæminæ præsumamus, in quo viros ferè jam universos succumbere videamus, imo & deficere. Senuisse jam mundum conspicimus, hominesque ipsos cum cæteris, quæ mundi funt, pristinum naturæ vigorem amisise, & juxta illud Veritatis, ipsam charitatem non tam multorum, quam fere omnium refriguisse. Ut jam videlicet pro qualitate hominum ipsas propter homines scriptas vel mutari, vel temperare necesse sit Regulas.

Cujus quidem discretionis ipse quoque Beatus non immemor Benedictus ita se Monasticæ discretionis rigorem temperasse sateatur, ut descriptam à se Regulam, comparatione priorum institutorum, non nis

quandam honestatis institutionem, & quandam conversationis inchoationem reputet, dicens: " Regulam autem hanc descripsimus, ut hanc observantes ali-" quatenus vel honestatem morum, aut initium conversationis nos demonstremus habere. Cæte-" rum ad perfectionem conversationis qui festinat, " fumat doctrinam sanctorum Patrum, cujus observatio perducat hominem ad cellitudinem per-" fectionis." Item, "Quisquis ergo ad cæleftem o patriam festinas, hanc minimam inchoationis Rees gulam, adjuvante Christo, perfice, & tunc de-" mum ad majora doctrinæ virtutumque culmina, " Deoprotegente, pervenies." - Qui, (ut ipse ait) cum legamus olim Sanctos Patres uno die Pfalterium explere solere, ita Psalmodiam tepidis temperavit: ut in ipsa per Hebdomadam distributione Psalmorum, minore ipforum numero Monachi quam Clerici contenti fint.

Quid etiam tam religioni quietique Monasticæ contrarium est, quam quod luxuriæ somentum maximè præstat & tumultus excitat, atque ipsam Dei in nobis imaginem, qua præstamus cæteris, id est rationem delet? Hoc autem vinum est, quod supra omnia victui pertinentia plurimum Scriptura damnosum afferit, & caveri admonet. De quo & maximus ille sapientum in Proverbiis meminit, dicens: "Luxurio" sa res vinum, & tumultuosa ebrietas. Quicum" que his delectatur, non erit sapiens. Gui væ?
" cujus patri væ? cui rixæ? cui soveæ? cui sine
" causa vulnera? cui sussusiono, & student calicibus
" epotandis? Ne intuearis vinum quando slavescit,
" cum splenduerit in vitro color ejus? Ingreditur

" blande, sed in novissimo mordebit, ut Coluber, & ficut regulus venena diffundet. Oculi tui videbunt extraneas, & cor tuum loquetur perversa. .. Et eris sicut dormiens in medio mari, & quasi " fopitus gubernator, amisso clavo: & dices: Ver-" beraverunt me fed non dolui: traxerunt me, & " ego non fensi: Quando evigilabo, & rursus vina " reperiam?" Item: " Noli Regibus, ô Lamuel, " noli Regibus dare vinum; quia nullum secretum " est, ubi regnat ebrietas, ne forte bibant & obli-" viscantur judiciorum, & mutent causam filiorum " pauperis." Et in Ecclesiasticoscriptum est: " Vinum " & mulieres apostatare saciunt sapientes, & arguunt " fensatos." Ipse quoque Hieronymus ad Nepotianum scribens de vita Clericorum, & quasi graviter indignans, quod Sacerdotes Legis ab omni, quod inebriare potest, abstinentes, nostros in hac abstinentia superent: " Nequaquam, inquit, vinum " redoleas, ne audias illud Philosophi : " Hoc non " est osculum porrigere, sed vinum propinare." Vinolentos Sacerdotes & Apostolus damnat, & Lex vetus prohibet. " Qui altario deserviunt, vinum & " ficeram non bibant." Sicera Hebræo sermone omnis potio nuncupatur, que inebriare potest, sive illa quæ fermento conficitur, sive pomorum succo, aut favi decoquitur in dulcedinem, & herbarum potionem, aut palmarum fructus exprimuntur in liquorem. coclisque frugibus aqua pinguior colatur. Quicquid inebriat, & statum mentis evertit, fuge similiter ut vinum.

Ecce quod Regum deliciis interdicitur, Sacerdotibus penitus denegatur, & cibis omnibus periculofius esse constat. Ipse tamen tam spiritualis vir Beatus Benedictus dispensatione quadam præsentis ætatis indulgere Monachis cogitur. "Licet, inquit, lega"mus vinum Monachorum omnino non esse: sed quiz
"nostris temporibus hoc Monachis persuaderi non
"potest, &c.

Legerat, ni fallor, quod in vitis Patrum scriptum est his verbis: "Narraverunt quidam Abbati Pastori " de quodam Monacho, quia non bibebat vinum, & dixiteis quia vinnm Monachorum omnino non est." " Item post aliqua: Facta est aliquando celebratio Mis-" farum in Monte Abbatis Anthonii, & inventum est " ibi cenidum vini. Et extollens unus de senibus par-" vum vas, calicem portavit ad Abbatem Sifoi; & dedit " ei. Et bibit semel & secundo, & accepit, & bibit. " Obtulit ei & tertio. Sed non accepit, dicens: " Quiesce frater, an nescis quia est Sathanas?" Et iterum de Abbate Sisoi : " Dicit ergo Abraham discipulis ejus: Si occurritur in Sabbatho & Do-" minica ad Ecclesiam, & biberit tres calices, ne multum eft? Et dixit senex, si non effet Sathanas, " non effet multum."

Ubi unquam, quæfo, carnes à Deo damnatæ sunt vel Monachis interdictæ? Vide obsecto & attende, qua necessitate Regulam temperet in eo etiam quod periculosius est Monachis, & quod eorum non esse noverit. Quia videlicet hujus abstinentia temporibus suis Monachis jam persuaderi non poterat. — Utinam eadem dispensatione, & in hoc tempore ageretur, ut videlicet in his, quæ media boni & mali atque indisserentia dicuntur, tale temperamentum sieret; ut quod jam persuaderi non valet, prosessio non exigeret, mediisque omnibus sine scandalo toncessis, sola interdici peccata sussiceret; & sic

quoque in cibis, sicut in vestimentis dispensaretur, ut quod vilius comparari posset ministraretur, & per omnia necessitati, non supersluitati consuleretur.

Non enim magnopere funt curanda quæ nos regno Dei non præparant, vel quæ nos minime Deo commendant. / Hæc verò funt omnia quæ exterius geruntur, & æque reprobis, ut dejectis, æque hypocritis, ut religiosis communia sunt. Nihil quippe inter Judæos & Christianos ita separat, sicut exteriorum operum & interiorum discretio; præsertim cum inter filios Dei & Diaboli sola charitas discernat, quam plenitudinem legis & finem præcepti Apostolus vocat. Unde & ipse hanc operum gloriam prorsus extenuans, ut fidei præferat justitiam, Judæam alloquens dicit: "Ubi est gloriatio tua? exclusa est. Per quam le-" gem? factorum? Non, sed per legem fidei. Ar-" bitramur eum hominem justificari per fidem fine " operibus Legis." Item, "Si enim Abraham ex " operibus justificatus est, habet gloriam, fed non apud Deum. Quid enim dicit scriptura? Credi-" dit Abraham Deo, & reputatum est ei ad jufti-" tiam," Et rursum : " Ei, inquit, qui non ope-" ratur, credenti autem in Deum qui justificat im-" pium, deputatur fides ejus ad justitiam, secun-" dum propositum gratiæ Dei." - Idem etiam omnium ciborum esum Christianis indulgens, & ab his ea quæ justificant, distinguens, "Non est, inquit, " regnum Dei esca & potus, sed justitia & pax, & " gaudium in Spiritu fancto." Omnia quidem munda funt, sed malum est homini, qui per offendiculum manducat. Bonum est non manducare carnem, & non bibere vinum, neque in quo frater tuus offendatur, aut scandalizetur, aut infirmetur. Non enim

hoc loco ulla cibi comessio interdicitur, sed comestionis offensio: qua videlicet quidam ex conversis Judæis scandalizabantur, cum viderent ea quoque comedi que lex interdiserat. Quod quidem scandalum Apostolus etiam Petrus cupiens evitare, graviter ab ipso est objurgatus, & salubriter correctus. Sicut ipsemet Paulus ad Galatas scribens, commemorat, - Qui rursus Corinthiis scribens : " Esca " autem nos non commendat Deo." Et rurfum, " Omne quod in macello vænit, manducate. Dose mini est terra & plenitudo ejus." Et ad Collosfenses: "Nemo ergo vos judicet in cibo aut in potu." Et post aliqua: " Si mortui estis cum Christo ab ele-.. mentis hujus mundi: quid adhuc tanquam viventes in mundo decernitis? Ne tetigeritis neque 46 gustaveritis, neque contrectaveritis: quæ sunt om-66 nia in interitu iplo usu secundum præcepta & doc-" trinas hominum." - Elementa hujus mundi vocat prima Legis rudimenta, fecundum carnales obfervantigs, in quarum videlicet doftring quasi in addiscendis literalibus elementis primo se mundus, id est, carnalis adhuc populus exercebat. Ab his quidem elementis, id est, carnalibus observantiis tam Christi, quam sui, mortui funt; cum nihil his debeant, jam non in hoc mundo viventes, hoc est inter carnales figuris intendentes, & decernentes, id est distinguentes quosdam cibos, vel quaslibet res ab aliis, atque ita dicentes : " Ne tetigeritis hæc " vel illa." Quæ scilicet tacta, vel gustata, vel contrectata, inquit Apostolus, sunt in interitu animæ ipso suo usu, quo videlicet ipsis ad aliquam etiam utimur humilitatem : fecundum, inquam, præceptum & doctrinas hominum, id est carnalium, &

legem carnaliter intelligentium, potius quam Christi vel suorum.

Hic enim cum ad prædicandum ipsos destinaret Apostolos, ubi magis ipsi ab omnibus scandalis providendum erat, omnium tamen ciborum efum eis ita indulfit, ut apud quoscunque suscipiantur hospitio, ita, sicut illi victitent, edentes scilicet & bibentes quæ apud illos funt. Ab hac profecto Dominica suaque disciplina illos recessuros ipse jam Paulus per Spiritum providebat. De quibus ad Timotheum scribit dicens : " Spiritus autem manifeste " dicit, quia in novissimis temporibus discedent qui-" dam à fide, attendentes spiritibus erroris, & doc-" trinis dæmoniorum in hypocrifi loquentium men-" dacium, prohibentium nubere, abstinere à cibis, « quos Deus creavit ad percipiendum cum gratiaof rum actione fidelibus, & his qui cognoverunt ve-" ritatem; quia omnis creatura Dei bona, & nihil " rejiciendum quod cum gratiarum actione percipi-" tur. Sanctificatur enim per verbum Dei & ora-" tionem. Hæc proponens fratribus, bonus eris " minister Christi Jesu, enutritus verbis sidei, & " bonæ doctrinæ, quam affecutus es."

Quis denique Joannem, ejusque discipulos abstinentia nimia se macerantes ipsi Christo ejusque discipulis in Religione non præserat, si corporalem oculum ad exterioris abstinentiæ intendat exhibitionem? De quo etiam ipsi discipuli Joannis adversus Christum, & suos murmurantes, tanquam adhuc in exterioribus Judaizantes, ipsum interrogaverunt Dominum, dicentes: "Quare nos & Pharisæi jejumamus frequenter, discipuli autem tui non jejumant?" — Quod diligenter attendens beatus Au-

gustinus, & quid inter virtutem & virtutis exhibitionem referat attendens, ita quæ fiunt exteriùs penfat, ut nihil meritis superaddant opera. Ait quippe fic in Libro de bono conjugali: " Continentia, non " corporis, sed animæ virtus est. Virtutes autem ani-" mi aliquando in corpore manifestantur, aliquando in " habitu: ficut Martyrum virtus apparuit in tolerando " passiones." Item. " Jam enim erat in Job patien-" tia, quam noverat Dominus, et cui testimonium " perhibebat, fed hominibus innotuit tentationis " examine. " Item : " Vetum, ut apertius intellise gatur, quomodo sit virtus in habitu : etiam si non " sit in opere, loquor de exemplo, de quo nullus " dubitat Catholicorum. Dominus Jesus quod in « veritate carnis esurierit, & sitierit, & munduca-« verit, & biberit, nullus ambigit eorum qui ex e ejus Evangelio fideles funt. Num igitur non erat .. in illo continentiæ virtus à cibo & potu, quanta " erat in Joanne Baptista? Venit enim Joannes non "manducans & bibens, & dixerunt : Dæmonium i habet. Venit filius hominis manducans & bi-" bens, & dixerunt: Ecce homo vorax, & potator " vini, amicus Publicanorum & Peccatorum." Item: " Deinde ibi subjecit, cum de Joanne ac de se " illa dixisset : Justificata est Sapientia à filis suis, e qui virtutem continentiæ vident in habitu animi " femper esse debere : in opere autem, pro rerum si ac temporum oportunitate, manifestari, sicut virst tus patientiæ Sanctorum Martyrum." Quocirca, ficut non est impar meritum patientia in Petro, qui passus est, & in Joanne qui passus non est: sic non est impar meritum continentiæ in Joanne, qui nullas expertus est nuptias; & in Abraham, qui filios

generavit. Et illius enim Cælibatus, & illius Connubium, pro distributione temporum, Christo militaverunt. Sed continentiam Joannes & in opere, Abraham vero in solo habitu habebat.

Illo itaque tempore cum & lex dies Patriarcharum subsequens maledictum dixit, qui non excitaret semen in Ifraël: & qui non poterat, non promebat, fed tamen habebat. Ex quo autem venit plenitudo temporis ut diceretur, " qui potest capere capiat; " qui habet, operetur, qui operari noluerit, non " se habere mentiatur." Ex his liquidè verbis colligitur folas, apud Deum merita virtutes obtinere, & quicunque virtutibus pares funt, quantumcumque distent operibus, æqualiter ab ipso promereri. Unde quicumque sunt vere Christiani, sic toti circa interiorem hominem funt occupati, ut eum scilicet virtutibus ornent, ac vitiis mundent: ut de exteriori nullam, vel minimam assumant curam. - Unde & ipsos legimus Apostolos ita rusticane, & velut inhoneste, in ipso etiam Domini comitatu se habuisse, ut velut omnis reverentiæ atque honestatis obliti, cum per sata transirent spicas vellere, fabricare, & comedere, more puerorum, non erubefcerent. Nec de ipsa etiam manuum ablutione, cum cibos effent accepturi, follicitos effe. Qui cum à nonnullis, quasi de immunditia, arguerentur, eos Dominus excusans: "Non lotis, inquit, manibus " manducare, non coinquinat hominem." Ubi & statim generaliter adjecit, ex nullis exterioribus animam inquinari: fed ex his tantum quæ de corde prodeunt, " Quæ sunt, inquit, cogitationes, adulteria, " homicidia," &c. Nisi enim priùs prava voluntate animus corrumpatur, peccatum esse non poterit

quicquid exterius agatur in corpore. Unde & bene ipsa quoque adulteria sive homicidia ex corde procedere dicit, quæ & sine tactu corporum perpetrantur, juxta illud: "Qui viderit mulierem ad concu- piscendam eam, jam mæchatus est in corde suo. Et omnis qui odit fratrem suum, homicida est." Et tactis vel læsis corporibus minime peraguntur, quando videlicet per violentiam opprimitur aliqua, vel per justitiam coactus judex intersicit reum. Omnis quippe homicida (sicut scriptum est) non

" habet partem in regno Dei."

Non itaque magnopere quæ fiunt, sed quo animo fiant, pensandum est, si illi placere studemus, qui cordis & renum probator est, & in abscondito videt, qui judicabit occulta hominum. "Paulus, inquit, " fecundum Evangelium meum," hocest, secundum mez przdicationis doctrinam. Unde & modica viduz oblatio, quæ fuit duo minuta, id est quadrans, omnium divitum oblationibus copiosis prælata est, ab illo cui dicitur : "Bonorum meorum non eges," cui magis oblatio ex offerente, quam offerens placet ex oblatione, sicut scriptum est : " Respexit Do-" minus ad Abel, & ad munera ejus." Ut videlicet priùs devotionem offerentis inspiceret, & sic ex ipso donum oblatum gratum haberet. Quæ quidem animi devotio tanto major in Deo habetur, quanto in exterioribus, quæ fiant, minus confidimus. -Unde & Apostolus post communem ciborum indulgentiam, de qua, ut supra meminimus, Timotheo scribit, de exercitio quoque corporalis laboris adjunxit, dicens : " Exerce autem teipsum ad pietatem. Nam corporalis exercitatio admodum utilis et est. Pietas autem ad omnia utilis est, promissionem

" habens vitæ quæ nunc est, & suturæ: quoniam pia mentis in Deum devotio, & hic ab ipso me" retur necessaria, & in suturo perpetua."

Quibus quidem documentis quid aliud docemur, quam Christiane sapere, & cum Jacob de domesticis animalibus resectionem patri providere? Non cum Esau de silvestribus curam sumere, & in exterioribus Judaizare. Hinc & illud est Psalmistæ: "In me sunt Deus vota tua, quæ reddam laudationes tibi." Ad hoc quoque illud adjunge Poeticum,

## Ne te quæfiveris extra.

Multa funt & innumerabilia tam Sæcularium, quam Ecclesiasticorum Doctorum testimonia, quibus ea quæ funt exterius, & indifferentia vocantur, non magnopere curanda esse docemur. Alioquin legis opera, & fervitutis ejus, ficut ait Petrus, importabile jugum, Evangelicæ libertati effet præferendum, & fuavi jugo Christi, & ejus oneri levi. Ad quod quidem fuave jugum & onus leve per semetipsum Christus nos invitans: "Venite, inquit, qui laboratis & " onerati estis." Unde & prædictus Apostolus quofdam jam ad Christum conversos, sed adhuc opera legis retinere censentes vehementer objurgans, ficut in Actibus Apostolorum scriptum est, ait: "Viri " fratres, quid tentatis Deum, imponere jugum " fuper cervicem discipulorum, quod neque patres " nostri, neque nos portare potuimus : sed per " gratiam Domini Jesu credimus salvari, quemad-" modum & illi?"

Et tu ipse, obsecto, non solum Christi, verum etiam hujus imitator Apostoli, discretione sicut & nomine, sic operum præcepta moderare, ut infirmæ convenit naturæ, & ut divinæ laudis plutimum vacare possimus officiis. Quam quidem hostiam, exterioribus omnibus sacrificiis reprobatis, Dominus commendans ait; "Si esuriero, non di-. cam tibi : meus est enim orbis terræ, & plenitudo es ejus. Nunquid manducabo carnes taurorum, aut se fanguinem hircorum potabo? Immola Deo facrise ficium laudis, & redde Altissimo vota tua, & invoca me in die tribulationis, & eruam te. & hose norificabis me."

Nec id quidem ita loquimur, ut laborem operum corporalium respuamus, cum necessitas postulaverit. Sed ne ista magna putemus, quæ corpori serviunt, & officii divini celebrationem præpediunt; præfertim cum ex authoritate Apostolica id præcipue devotis indultum sit fæminis, ut alienæ procurationis sustentur officiis magis, quam de opere proprii laboris. Unde ad Timotheum Paulus .: " Si quis se fidelis habet viduas, subministret illis, & non at gravetur Ecclesia, ut his, quæ veræ viduæ funt, " fufficiat." - Veras quippe viduas dicit quascum que Christo devotas, quibus non folum maritus mortuus est, verum & mundus crucifixus est, & ipfæ mundo. Quas recte de dispendiis Ecclesiæ, tanquam de propriis Sponsi sui reditibus, sustentari convenit. Unde & Dominus ipfe matri fuæ procuratorem Apostolum, potius quam virum ejus prævidit, & Apostoli septem Diaconos, id est Ecclesiæ ministros, qui devotis ministrarent fæminis, inflituerunt.

Scimus quidem & Apostolum Thessalonicensibus scribentem, quosdam otiosè vel curiosè viventes adeo conftrinxisse, ut præciperet, quoniam si quis

non vult operari, non manducet: & Beatum Benedictum maxime pro otiofitate vitanda opera manuum injunxisse. Sed nunquid Maria otiose sedebat, ut verba Christi audiret? Martha tam ei quam Domino laborante, & de quiete sororis tanquam invida murmurante, quasi quæ sola pondus diei & æstus portaverit?

1-

0

ıt

1-

)-

m

t.

t, T-

e-

is

is

n

t,

n=

r-

n-

ri

uæ-

e-

n-

us

es is

Unde & hodie frequenter murmurare eos cernimus, qui in exterioribus laborant, cum his qui divinis occupati funt officiis terrena ministrant. Et fæpe de his, quæ tyranni rapiunt, minus conqueruntur, quam quæ desidiosis (ut aiunt) istis & otiofis exfolvere coguntur. Quos tamen non folum verba Christi audire, verum etiam in his ashduè legendis & decantandis occupatos considerant esse. Nec attendunt non esse magnum, ut ait Apostolus, si eis communicent corporalia, à quibus expedant spiritualia. Nec indignum esse, ut qui terrenis intendunt, his, qui spiritualibus occupantur, deserviant. Hinc & enim ex ipfa quoque legis fanctione Ministris Ecclesiæ hæc salubris otii libertas concessa, ut tribus Levi nihil hæreditatis terrenæ perciperet, quo expeditius Domino deserviret : sed de labore aliorum decimas & oblationes fusciperet.

De abstinentia quoque jejuniorum, quam magis vitiorum quam ciborum Christiani appetunt, si quid Ecclesse institutioni superaddi decreveris, deliberandum est, & quod nobis expedit, instituendum. — Maximè vero de officiis Ecclesiasticis, & de ordinatione Psalmorum providendum est: ut in hoc saltem, si placet, nostram exoneres infirmitatem: ne cum Psalterium per hebdomadam expleamus, eosdem necesse sit Psalmos repeti. Quam etiam Beatus Benedictus, cum eam pro visu suo distribuisset,

in aliorum quoque actione sua id reliquit admonitio: ut si cui melius videretur, aliter ipsos ordinaret. Attendens videlicet, quod per temporum successionem Ecclesia decor creverit, & qua priùs rude susceptat sundamentum, postmodum adisicii nacta est ornamentum. — Illud autem pra emnibus definire te volumus, quid de Evangelica lectione in vigiliis nocturuis nobis agendum sit. Periculosum quippe videtur eo tempore ad nos Sacerdotes aut Diaconos admitti, per quos hae lectio recitetur, quas pracipuè ab omni hominum accessu atque aspectu segregatas esse convenit: tum ut sinceriùs Deo vacare possimus, tum etiam ut à tentatione tutiores simus.

Tibi nunc domine, dum vivis, incumbit instituere de nobis, quid in perpetuum tenendum sit nobis. Tu quippe post Deum, hujus loci sundator, tu per Deum nostræ congregationis es plantator, tu cum Deo nostræ sis religionis institutor. Præceptòrem alium post te sortassis habituræ sumus, & qui super alienum aliquid ædiscet sundamentum. Ideòque veremur de nobis minus suturus sollicitus, vel à nobis minus audiendus, & qui denique, si æquè velit, non æquè possit. Loquere tu nobis, & audiemus. Vale.

## and the state of t

follow, where in Maril Bear ever interpleasume ne

our Foller and red more of the supplemental coldeminically he religion to the equal educations the Bonest Education of the Foller of the content

